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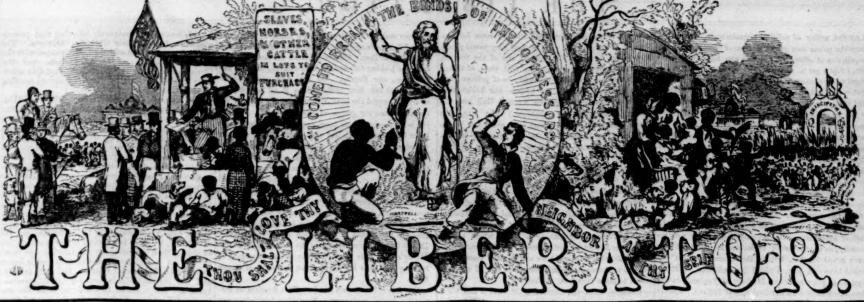
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all remittances are to be made, and all letters to the pecuniary concerns of the paper are to cted, (POST PAID,) to the General Agent. dvertisements making less than one square inhree times for 75 cents—one square for \$1 00. The Agents of the American, Massachusetts, Wania and Ohio Anti-Slavery Societies are auto receive subscriptions for the Liberator.

The following gentlemen constitute the Financial the, but are not responsible for any of the debts de paper, vil :- FRANCIS JACKSON, ELLIS GRAY EDMEND QUINCY, SAMUEL PHILBRICK, and the columns of THE LIBERATOR, both sides of tion are impartially allowed a hearing.

WM LLOYD GARRISON, EDITOR.



Our Country is the World, our Countrymen are all Mankind.

J. B. YERRINTON & SON, PRINTERS.

No Anion with Staveholders!

THE U. S. CONSTITUTION IS 'A COVENANT WITH DEATH

Yes! IT CANNOT BE DENIED—the slaveholding

lords of the South prescribed, as a condition of their assent to the Constitution, three special provisions to SECURE THE PERPETUITY OF THEIR DOMINION OVER THEIR

SLAVES. The first was the immunity, for twenty years, of preserving the African slave trade; the second was

THE STIPULATION TO SURRENDER PUGITIVE SLAVES—an

engagement positively prohibited by the laws of God, delivered from Sinai; and, thirdly, the exaction, fatal

to the principles of popular representation, of a representation for SLAVES—for articles of merchandize, under

the name of persons in fact, the oppressor repro-

senting the oppressed ! . . . To call government thus con-

stituted a democracy, is to insult the understanding of mankind. It is doubly tainted with the infection of

riches and slavery. Its reciprocal operation upon the

government of the nation is to establish an artificial

majority in the slave representation over that of the free people, in the American Congress; AND THEREBY

TO MAKE THE PRESERVATION, PROPAGATION AND PERPET-

UATION OF SLAVERY THE VITAL AND ANIMATING SPIRIT OF THE NATIONAL GOVERNMENT.' -- John Quincy Adams.

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SPEECH

TENDELL PHILLIPS

NEW ENGLAND A. S. CONVENTION, Wednesday Evening, May 25th.

PROVOGEAPHIC REPORT BY MR. YERRINTON.

senel to a lecture, a short time ago, from that kable woman, once a slave, Sojourner She began by saying, 'My friends, I have sity to hear what I am going to great laughter); and I might almost commence, same tone, what I fear will be some very desulmarks. And yet, it seems to me that I have ing to say; certainly, I have a strong wish to those whom I see before me to-night understand ont on which much misapprehension prevails.

te have been blamed very much, of late-we have obuked, to be sure, for a great many years, but egharly within the last year or two-for what ad the bitter spirit with which we criticise the poarties; and it seems to be thought, by many, this is unnecessary criticism - that it is one which we could refrain, if we would, without sacsg, in any way, the interests of our cause.

seems to me that our peculiar function and duty, his point-to the men who profess to embody, for time being, the anti-slavery sentiment of the councially those who represent political anti-sla-The whole history of the Slave Question, both and in England, shows that rigid adherence to ciple is the best policy and only strength of our ense. Now, 'the essence of politics is compromise. non-place a truism needs no authority to back but I prefer to shield an unpalatable truth with the ner of a great name. The above are Macaulay's h, in his able review of the condition of England in Elsewhere he says-' A public man is often the necessity of consenting to measures which he iss, lest he should endanger the success of meass which he thinks of vital importance. But the hislies under no such necessity. On the contrary, me of his most sacred duties to point out clearly erers of those whose general conduct he admires. al of 'historian,' write Garrison abolitionist,whole reliance is on strict principle, urged home dividual censcience, and rigidly applied to our de and politics, -and the sentence fitly describes

becomes, therefore, our duty to watch politics, bem it is politics (cheers); because its essential tempion is to file down its principles and compromise en. The principle of moral life and personal integs-Put your ideal as high as possible; the effort alize it, though a failure, will carry you very h. The principle of party life is-Put your ideal was you can, without wholly sacrficing your ob-Every degree that you relax gains a follower, basis of your party. - The two must then urally and essentially conflict, and the duty of those see no prospect of success but in the most rigid adonce to principle, must be, at all times and on all sions, to watch with sleepless vigilance those, whose position constantly tempts them to sacrifice printo the hope of immediate or party success. The ment of the gravest and most disinterested is not trusted under such circumstances. Natural pride party triumph sometimes takes, for them, the angel n of the success of their principle. In the confusi he struggle, the best intentioned, having persuaded elves that compromise is allowable, will carry it fer, and surrifine to party safety all the efficiency of inciples. As the trembling sailor throws overal his cargo to save the ship, his only hope of reachbor, so many a party man treats his principles are the organization, which base men regard as the y hope of reaching office; and which the best come en to consider the only means of reaching their prin-

at me illustrate what I mean. The anti-slavery nent commenced in England in 1783. Until 1787 8), when it got into Parliament, and from that time 825, it lived the same sort of semi-vigorous or lerge life that our political anti-slavery does. Now capromised to please Mr. Pitt; now it remained et, in order not to frighten men who grew pale bethe French Revolution; now it was cushioned by Tories; and now buried in Blue Books by the igs. First, the Abolitionists resolved to attack only stre trade, for fear of alarming the slaveholders of mics and their friends in the House of Lords. Next, sked only gradual abolition, to propitiate Bristol, ich feared a sudden loss of trade. Then they took henselves the task of proving that such abolition not injure the English marine; for, strangely ich, the African coast was claimed as the best nurery of seame 1. And thus the Abolitionists lost themlves in a wilderness of Blue Books, designed to prove, entire satisfaction of the white man, that he could the his fost off the neck of his black brother, withrisking the loss of a farthing. For forty years, the d white man stood considering whether he was coned! All this while, Wilberforce, with all his sintity, aided by the strong personal friendship of Pitt, if with all the assistance which Fox, the head of the ig party, could give him, labored almost in vain. one two great men sunk into their graves, and others food in their places. A nominal abolition of the Trade, which only made it more cruel, was the abolitionists' only ted very questionable claim to success. Forty years of stirected effort were behind them. Before them, the Inten of West India slavery reared its unappalled man, outside of these political organizations, prosimel the simple, gospel principle, that slavery was ann-bade England look at it in the light, not of the white man's interests, but of the colored man's rightstai, by an appeal to the consciences of the middle, classes, took the subject out of that everlasting list of Milical questions, where nothing is ever settled except being forgotten. The moment ELIZABETH HEYRICK tal infused into the anti-slavery question the enthusito of this religious conviction, a new era dawned upon Her pamphlet was, in fact, a rebuke—a most bingent, searching, and personal rebuke-of the thir-

instead of receiving the criticism in anger, or standing some less radical measure as a sufficient means of pro-

ight, as American citizens, to hold our public servants to serve. stock, and let it be tried.

nore widows and orphans, in those counties. True, the emption. age is gone when the masses, like a herd, blindly follow What do these politicians claim? They claim that good or evil, as to demand constant attention. Let no when he ought to have spoken, or that he has sub the anti-slavery movement from a better vantage by its formal resolutions, necessarily limited and mod

possible that Liberty should live without political par- the whole field, has no rebuke for the Church. To utties. But their place is subordinate. When Cobden, ter one would endanger its growth and lessen its numof the politician. He transcends it when he represents off, patient scapegoats, all the odium, and leave the himself as qualified to originate radical reforms and nothing but the advantage. The cat loves fish, but change public opinion in its depths; and he does noth- does not like to wet her feet. Let Condé and Turenne or forty years of wasted anti-slavery effort. The from his right place, to cripple his force, to check his it only (at election time) to receive the surrender.

aloof from the new movement, they sat themselves gress. The reformer is careless of numbers, disregards down,-scholars, statesmen, leaders, great men as they popularity, and deals only with ideas, conscience, and were,—at the feet of this Quaker prophetess, and con- common sense. He neither expects, nor is over-anxious ented to learn of her the idea of a practical anti-sla- for immediate success. He feels, with Copernicus, that as very agitation, which in nine years did more for the set-element of the question than all their lives had done wait for followers. The politician dwells in the everlasting Now. His motto is, 'Success!' His aim, num-Again: when, in 1833, the question of political com- bers. His object, not absolute right, but, like Solon's mise, or of absolute fidelity to anti-slavery princi- laws, as much right as the people will bear. His office le, was to be settled, so far as the question of compen- is not to instruct, or to change public opinion, but to ation went; when the three hundred delegates met in represent it by appropriate public institutions. These, ndon, and refused their countenance even to FOWELL I believe, are the respective functions of the reformer Buxton, standing as he did the incarnation of political and politician. Of course, they often, in practical life, run anti-slavery, battling almost alone, and appealing to into each other, like the colors on a dove's neck. But their personal sympathies for support—though a large the essential character of each remains the same. Now, part of the anti-slavery body refused him their counter we have no quarrel with anti-slavery parties while they nance, on the ground that he was lowering the stand- undertake simply to represent, and thus make effective rd of absolute right and endangering the cause and practical the existing anti-slavery sentiment of roughout the world; and though Buxton trembled, the country-or when they seek to aid in remodelling that last night in the House of Commons, to make the public opinion. But when they hold themselves forth impromise in his own name, which the experience of as the highest type of anti-slavery effort, presume wenty years has shown to have been a most unright- assign limits, beyond which they tell us we ruin our ous one for the English people-all that while, neither cause, meaning the party, if we go; when they cool the ne, nor the few who acted with him, presumed to find zeal, confuse the conscience, weaken the testimony and fault with the moral anti-slavery men who were behind increase the temptations of abolitionists, as parties are hem, and who were endeavoring to keep them up to a ever tempted to do; then, self-defence and duty to the slave require that we examine the whole ground, and Just what ELIZABETH HEYRICK did to WILBERFORCE, teach them their place. When two hosts, such as I have st what the anti-slavery host did to FOWELL BUXTON, described, are engaged in the same field, they must nec-Dr. LUSHINGTON, and the others, we do. We stand, essarily watch each other ;-one to reduce opinion, laiming to have done as much to produce this anti-sla- as fast as it is made, to statute; the other to see that ery excitement as others; to have an equal right, the mistake, selfishness, or peculiar temptation to comherefore, both as its fathers and from experience, to promise, inherent in these mediators between them and express our opinion about it; to have our common their age, do not wreck the cause they mean honestly

o a strict account in regard to it. We claim the right You must expect, therefore, that as long as the antio criticise the Free Soil or any other party, to criticise slavery cause exists, it will be personal; it never will ree Soil or any other men, to any extent-(cheers)- be any thing else. Politics is necessarily made up of any extent, and to any degree of personality. Who personality. We spend our strength, we see important s the servant that claims to be above his masters? for questions put, for the time, aside, to elect a man te ofuch are the people in a republic. I know no person in fice. When he assumes it, shall we shut our eyes, and this matter; but I know this, that the good name of no put our hands on our lips, not daring to watch his uman being, however meritorious, is worthy to be con- course, or criticise it? We waited a whole year, to idered or put in the scale, for a moment, against the elect our esteemed friend, CHARLES SUMMER, to the Senossibility of hazarding the welfare of the anti-slavery ate of the United States. The Free Soilers said to sause (loud cheers); and that man over-estimates his us, when we asked them to pass a bill for the secuown importance, and brings into doubt his love for the rity of personal liberty in Massachusetts, 'Forgive us sause itself, who asks us to forbear criticism on his indi- this once. Let it have the go-by this year. We do not vidual course. It is the duty of all of us to welcome want to press your resolves, (they had been drawn up criticism. We are all fools in this matter; for who by Messrs. Buckingham and Sewall;) it is necessary shall prophecy, in the midst of a Democracy like ours- to keep every thing quiet, and elect Mr. Summer. Give with its shifting politics, and its quicksands of constitutional law and commercial interest—what the future place a man in the Senate of the United States.' They shall bring forth! The best thing we can do is to did it. They took that whole year, and they achieved bring forward our opinion, put it into the common that triumph. It was the whole fruit of that remarkable session, when the Free Soil party had a working ma-How absurd in an Anglo-Saxon statesman to com- jority at the State-House. Shall men say, after the plain of personality! His whole past is the history of anti-slavery men have sat silent and forborne their fastruggles in which, for the hour, a great principle was vorite topics of legislation, that we have no right to inhid behind some loved or hated name. If I mistake not, quire what the Senator means to do, what his course of we owe Habeas Corpus to the Spaniards cutting off a sea policy and what his public life will be? Do you 'give us captain's ears. The English Constitution comes down a pig in a poke'? Do you expect us to give up the to us, through the ages, not by the steps of logical de- whole working year of a Massachusetts Anti-Slavery duction, but by a transmigration, like that of Eastern Legislature, and never look in the face the man whom Mythology, through martyrs and patriots. The war- you give us in exchange? Are we never to know his cries have not been 'Toleration' and 'Equal Rights,' opinions? Do you ask that we shall never criticise him? 'Extended Suffrage' and 'No Taxation without con- Certainly not! The man whom the anti-slavery cause sent,' but Mary and Latimer, Charles and Hampden, puts into a place of office and trust must be transpa-James and the Seven Bishops; Wilkes and the House rent; one whose principles are borne before the public, of Commons; O. Connell and the Penal Laws. Wil- and known to be worthy the sacrifice that we make for liam III. landed in Devonshire, not because James had him. I choose Mr. Summen's name as an illustration, made fewer Catholies, but because Jeffries had left well knowing that he would disdain to ask any such ex-

a leader. Education and instinctive sagacity make them their plan is as efficient to educate the people as our now desert a man the moment he deserts his principles. own; that political organizations can and will dis-Still, an ineradicable loyalty seems to demand names as cuss questions as thoroughly and meet all the necessities mantles for ideas. Our own united history begins with Washington, who was found wanting, weighed against by this test. They have succeeded so far as to put the idol of the masses, Thomas Jefferson; and the third their favorite leaders into Congress and the State Leact is Jackson and the United States Bank. As these gislatures. They have been bold men, ready debaters, lend their names to an age, so each lesser man lends his accomplished jurists. Mr. Hale has been six years in to an hour. The acts of such men are so fruitful, in the Senate. No man can say that he has been silent man take part in such a drama, who does not, like Dru- to the insolence of an overbearing majority. But when sus, offer his architect double to have 'his house so has he, or any of his compeers, grappled with the whole built that not his neighbors only, but the whole city, subject? When has he proposed any plan for its setmay see all he does.' Besides, men trusted with office tlement? What statesmanlike project has he tried to have great power to mould our welfare. As long as their make familiar to the people's ears? These men are sent actions affect us, we have a right to criticise; as long to Congress, we are told, not for the audience they find as their policy helps or hazards the slave's cause, we there, but to react on the people, to recultant the shall watch them. (Cheers.) We meet everywhere masses. What new light have the masses got from with the evil results of too much reliance on political Free Soil Conventions or Congress speeches? What effort. One man forbears now to anger the Church by has Congress been but the echo of the anti-slavery distoo keen criticism, and abstains from attending old-cussions of ten years ago? When and where has this fashioned anti-slavery meetings, for fear of injury to professedly anti-slavery party ever attempted to graphis party. Another more than pulls down with one ple with the whole Slave Question, proposed any plan, hand what he builds with the other, by remaining quiet laid down any principle, submitted, even for argument, in a pro-slavery church, and quieting his conscience by any radical measure? But we do not claim to be an the atonement of a Free Soil ballot. The zeal of anoth- anti-slavery party, say some, only a party to resist the er, which once laid all on the altar, now, more prudently extension of slavery. Let its friends, then, take their instructed, contents itself with one solitary exhibition proper place, as representing a temporary expedient of life in November. One man does this honestly, fal- to cover a single point, and not compare it with movelowing new lights. Another, half-conscious of his trea- ments which undertake the whole question, and are not son, betrays the pangs of an accusing conscience by the afraid to look slavery itself in the face. This is not, abuse of those whose persistent fidelity rebukes him. however, the usual line of defence. Most Free Soilers Another seems to join the party only that he may bet- claim to cover the whole ground ; indeed, busy themter defend some pet pro-slavery institution, and inveigh selves with urging us to give up our peculiarities, and against what he calls the 'radicalism and infidelity' of join them. They rather blame us for judging the party ground. The labor of years had educated the anti- rate, and allege that the men are better than the parslavery mind to its full work, brought it face to face ty. I grant it. Strangely enough, you can learn with the Slave Power, and taught it to trace the roots their principles better any where than in their speeches of the system into the Counting-house, the Union, and and platforms. Platforms and party speeches deprefout, with as proud defiance as ever. At length, a the Pulpit. Party, in assuming to gather into its fold cate any resistance to law, and so avoid responsibility. all that host, has carried it back to the beggarly ele- But I do not see that the party is slow to claim merit, ments of right of petition and of discussion, slavery- when anti-slavery feeling tramples the Fugitive Slave extension, and the mere incidents of the system.

Law, violently, under foot! This party discussion of slavery, so potent to reeducate the masses and cover Law, violently, under foot! This party discussion of the agitator, has created public sentiment, Peel, the bers. But the leaders are entirely willing others should politician, stereotypes it into statutes. This is the office aght that battle, provided such nameless troops bear

noble sincerity of those men is shown in the fact, that, plans, and cool the zeal of his followers by holding out | Consult one set of speeches, and slavery looms up | standing, eminent learning, mature age, growing numthrough the cloudy magnificence of the language, a bers, unconquerable zeal, will then give to this idea a thing so horrible, an evil of such magnitude, that, in startling terror. scribing it, the most vivid imagination pants and toils after it in vain'; before it, the utmost vigor of above-named accounts, the proclamation of this theory our language folds its hands in mute despair ; 'the war- is important. It is very evident that the South is di denouncing trumpet' of the speaker assures you that vided into two parties. One seeks to strengthen shaveslavery will not survive this Union thirty years ! You ry by extension, by large annexations of territory, and turn over the leaf, and, to your surprise, the speaker, contemplates disunion as the last resort. The other giance to this Union-the Siamese twin brother of the the fevered patient on his uneasy bed. This party is crat that he joins them 'most cordially in avowing re- under the Constitution. Their object is to make the gard for it and resolution to stand by it '! clings to the best terms possible with the rising anti-slavery sentititle of 'Union loving' party; tells men they may ment. They know that the earlier they trade, the more spare their breath in exhorting them to abide by it ; their wares are worth. The Sybil of Liberty rises eveand ends by letting the world know that he deems any ry day in her demands. Compensation, gladly accordappeal to the party to stand by the Union so unnecessary as to amount to an affront and an insult!

> from their lips; and they culogize it in language as ful- stroy the need for third parties. I am assured that sale, a Union, of which, John Quincy Adams be- tion of the South, for the Presidency, with the hope ing witness, the preservation, propagation and perpetu- that, under his lead, some plan, commensurate with straightway some tool starts up to demand, with ladi- whole question. If there indeed be any such slumber-Union Free Soilers praise is not the present Union, but potent energy would be given it by the annot one in posse, one that is to exist somewhere and some- of such a position assumed by the Free Soil party as real as Don Quixote's castles or Dulcinea's South would hasten the settlement of this question!
> charms! It seems that, like certain old foes of ours
> "Uncle Tom's Cabin has made the iron hot: let us who 'hated slavery in the abstract,' these eulogists strike with our heaviest hammer while it is so. We ers will not thank their backwoods friend for letting the justice; they hold not only with us, that slavery ought words shall be taken as ninety-nine men in a hundred slavery meeting in the Melodeon, but rise up before the do take them, and as they would be universally taken assembled Senate of the United States. (Loud cheers.) if spoken by Democrat and Whig, they are strangely If Mr. SUMNER thinks, as some men hint, that the antitrifle with truth in using the stereotype phrases of the will say, God speed the encounter! (Renewed cheers.) old parties, are winning good opinions 'by guile,' and But I want the lines drawn. I want the South startheir allegiance, like the devil's promises, is kept to the tled, if possible, to an immediate settlement of this ear and broken to the hope. And this leads me, Mr question, by the conviction that the ground is hollowleading Free Soilers hold toward the United States Con-stitution. What position the Party holds is clear. The which Mr. Sunner and his friends possess, are willing Party considers it a pro-slavery Instrument, and offers to take the theory and endorse it as sound before all par the oath in its support in the same sense and to the ties. But no, these gentlemen will not say that. At same extent as the other political parties. This is ev-

the Constitution an anti-slavery instrument, and holds private alone. that every citizen has a right to interpret laws to suit I do not like the theory; I do not think it is tenable; of a storm. Another is bolder than this, and goes to their purposes? Congress with the avowed intention of refusing to do all tent member of the party, who keeps his principles un-

It is fair to say, that these last are only the masks or who have not the courage to avow their doubts or their that an abolitionist can consistently take office or swear bors' wills, that are held up for us in this Constitution matter, we should end, and justly too, in the Penitentiary. However, we will find no fault with any man who that gentlemen who entertain these opinions refuse to honored men in the Free Soil ranks privately defend

which holds itself bound by no alleged compromises of not Charles Sunner, and Salmon P. Chase, and J. the Constitution, means to unseat the three-fifths basis R. Giddings, and Gerrit Smith, and the other gentlemembers as soon as possible, and laughs at decisions of he Supreme Court! Official position, professional majority is against them? ('Hear-hear.') If they

There are peculiar reasons just now why, on both the

roaring gently as a sucking dove,' professes his alle- sees plainly enough that all this is but the turning of enster he has been painting; tells Whig and Demo- looking for some grand settlement of the whole question ed to-day, may be indignantly refused ten years hence. Auxiliary to such views, we know well that the Whig The Union! No one outdoes these gentlemen in prais- and Democratic parties would grant almost any terms ng the Union. All the old stereotyped phrases drop to drive the question from the political arena, and deme and indiscriminate as any who sue to the people the Hon. S. P. Chase, of the United States Senate, has for their 'most sweet voices.' But hold them to their been stating, in Central New York, that he should not words, ask them how they can thus endorse, whole- be surprised to see Mr. Seward put forward by a secation of slavery is the vital and animating spirit; and the crisis, may be made for the final settlement of this indignation, whether you do not know that the ling element at the South, imagine what new life, what time ! a cloud-castle ! a Chatcau en Espagne ! about How, in view of the growth of such a foe, the wary refer to the Union 'in the abstract'! If this fact cannot hold an anti-slavery meeting, and describe the so, and these fine words were not really meant the third party by its platform resolutions, but up starts world took them, we apprehend the speak- some zealous partisan, and begs us to do them no innot out of the bag. Seriously, we find grave fault with not to exist, but they go further, and hold that there is leading men for the indiscriminate language in no legal or valid slavery any where in the land. What which they speak of the Union. If they mean their I ask is, let not that ghost disturb only a patient antiistent men. If they have a reserved meaning, slavery construction of the Constitution is tenable, let and refer to the Union not as it now is, but as it once him argue it in the face of the nation, putting all his was, and as they would fain make it, let me say, they official and legal influence into the scale; and I for one resident, to the subject we have been discussing to- ing under her feet; that the conviction of the anti-sla-We have been seeking to discover what position very character of the Constitution is rapidly gaining ident from the fact, that they make profession of no ing of three or four thousand at the North, when you other position. Each party defines its peculiar prin-put him on his voir dire (as lawyers say) to tell what ciples. If nothing is said on common topics, often dis-he will do in a certain case, he replies that he has much better than their party, much in advance of it, party, that it will construe slavery out of the Constituand accustomed to construe their oaths and the Consti- tion the moment it gets the power; and I want every tution in some way that saves them from the damn- man, of prominent and weighty anti-slavery reputation, ing inconsistency of their apparent position. One thinks who believes it, to confess it in public, not hold it in

himself. Another holds to the old view of these points, but it is a very startling one. It is one, as we well but means to resign office when called on to do any thing know, capable of most ingenious defence; and who can for slavery ; like a captain who assumes charge of the say that the unlimited and unterrified Democracy will ship, but intends to lock himself into the cabin in case not one day take it up, and make it a stalking-horse for

I ask that every man may bring forward his most efhis constitutional duties; he will appoint no officers, ficient measure just now for another reason. The success of 'Uncle Tom's Cabin' has made an era in his time, instead, in abusing his fellow-members who our cause. We have a world-wide interest on the subdo; and the climax of all is what may be called a pahearts. It is fair to expect that, out of this grand exdecided, and leans to one set when invited to State office, citement, something marked will grow. The world looks on Mrs. Srowe, just now, as the incarnation of the It is fair to say, that these last are only the masks or esting places of men who are verging to the radical and entirelayer enterprise. She stands on an eminence with the constitution is easied to say that the eyes of a world fixed upon her. Men expect istent idea, that the Constitution is anti-slavery, but from her some advice, some example, some plan. She must do something, or she balks the hopes of Christentution an anti-slavery Instrument, and that each officeholder has a right to construe it to suit himself, is at fall, like the rocket, as quickly as she ascended. I beleast consistent. Under no other conditions do I see lieve she will try. (Loud cheers.) The pulpit is to some to support the Constitution. I say it is a theory conextent with her. Various religious bodies will be obligto support the Constitution. I say to support the Constitution. I say to say now, sistent with itself. How sound it is, I will not say now, will assuredly vindicate her high place by efforts working the constitution. except that it seems to me, should we adopt the same thy of it. At such a moment, when so many eyes are rules in the construction and performance of our neighasking what they shall do, let us keep every banner flying that can help them forward or guide them right. tiary. However, we will find no fault with any man who nots consistently with the opinions he has honestly formed on these matters. We also were adjusted to the control of ed on these matters. My only surprise and criticism is, last of these questions we have been trying to investiarow them. If I am correctly informed, some of the most vote? and What is the meaning of an oath, under our honored men in the Free Soil ranks privately their oath to the Constitution on the ground that it is a cd. There is one theory put forward by our political thoroughly anti-slavery instrument, and that each officeholder has a right to interpret it for himself. If the fact political friends tell us that, though the Fugitive Slave be so, I wish them to avow it for two special reasons Law stands regularly on the statute book, they do not hold themselves bound, as office-holders or good citi-First, what a weapon for agitation, what a stringent zens, to obey it; and that even if there be pro-slavery appeal to the conscience, if men of mark in the nation clauses in the Constitution, recognized by President, deem the government so rotten that no theory but this Congress, the Supreme Court and the nation, they shall deem the government so rotten that no theory on the same will justify them in taking office! What a rebuke to the old parties, if we can brand their very basis of political life as wicked, and quote a great party as our time, we are urged to join the Free Soil party, and told endorsers! How much deeper the conviction, among its plan is to get the majority on its side, and then recommon men, of the sin of slavery, and how much plainer their course, if the stumbling-block of honored clauses from the Constitution, and make its plan is to get the majority on its side, and then repeat the Fugitive Slave Law, strike the pro-slavery clauses from the Constitution, and make its plan is to get the majority on its side, and then repeat the Fugitive Slave Law, strike the pro-slavery clauses from the Constitution, and make it an antimen supporting, as common folks think, a pro-slavery slavery instrument. Suppose all these good things government, and compromising with slavery for the done, will the minority of that day be brought to obey sake of office, can be taken from their path!

Secondly, what a thunderclap from a clear sky, for the Slave Power, will be the official announcement, on the floor of Congress, of the advent of a great party

are bound to obey to-day, do they mean to obey? The Fugitive Slave Law is on the statute-book-Mr. Free-Soil-Senator, do you mean to obey it? 'No!' What is the object of the Free Soil party? 'To get a better law on the statute-book.' When you have got it, is Mr. Soulé bound to obey it? If he is not, then what is the use of all this trouble to get it there? (Applause.)

This whole party are now in the minority. They ropose to obtain a majority, and put good laws on the tatute-book. When they have done this, will the proslavery minority be bound to obey them? According to this Free Soil theory, they will not. Then what is the use of working the ends of one's fingers off to get

majority ? (Cheers.) Our friends ask us-If you do not send any body to ongress, how do you expect to emancipate the slaves? Yankee like, we answer by asking, When Congress has assed a law looking to the freedom of his slaves, will he slaveholder be bound to obey it? Certainly he will. Their argument is worth nothing, unless he is. But Congress has now passed the Fugitive Slave Lawwhy don't you obey that? Because it is not constitutional? Who says so? We say so-we, individual citizens. But the slaveholder will have the same right to declare your laws unconstitutional, and refuse to obey them. (Cheers.)

Let us go a step further. 'Congress is one of the three great elements of the Government. We get Congress full of Free Soilers; we pass an act giving freedom to every slave in the United States. Mr. Souls, when he sees this Liberty Law, may go home to Louisana, and as Mr. SUMNER said in Fancuil Hall, 'I was a man before I was a Commissioner,' he may say, n the Faneuil Hall of New Orleans, 'I was a slaveholdr before I was a Senator'; -and is not his position as egally tenable as yours?

But you are going to do more than that. Our friend id they would get the Sapreme Court new-modelled, and have it construe the Constitution to be an anti-slavery instr ment. Will the slaveholders be ound to obey the Supreme Court when the change is nade? because, if they will, then why are not our friends bound to obey it now?

The fact is, we have heard of a man's biting his own se off, to spite his face, and of the silly fellow who sawed off the branch on which he sat. But the most practical exemplification of it is the Free Soil party unrmining the very arguments on which their own ulimate success depends. There are, indeed, several classes of logicians busily engaged in cutting their own hroats. Here stands a Democrat, anxious to convince rou that a negro, being inferior in intellect, has no ight to be free. The eager disputant forgets, that if his argument be sound, his own class have no right either to personal freedom or suffrage. Hard by, some holy man assures us that it is quite unnecessary to give egroes the Bible, or teach them to read it. You might imagine a shrewd Catholic smiling over his shoulder to see how earnestly the good man is knocking away the underpinning of Protestantism. For if blacks do not need to read the Bible, how could LUTHER prove that it was indispensable for whites?

cussed and considered settled, it is fairly to be pre- nothing to do with the Constitution-he never means to argument that proves his party innocent, proves it usesumed that the new party agrees with its predecessors.

Obey any of its so-called pro-slavery clauses. I do not want his opinion. What I wish is the assurance of his under a slaveholding Government, because, as citizen under a slaveholding Government, because, as citizen and officer, he does not hold himself bound to obey the laws. And he wastes his life in getting laws made, which, on his own theory, he must grant every body else full right to disobev, if they please! This matter is wholly independent of all forms of

government, and, so far as this question is concerned, t matters not what special provisions the Constitution contains. The question relates to the very essence of all government. Government is an arrangement or agreement, by which certain classes or individuals are lected to make laws ; some distinct body is set apart to settle, definitively, what these laws mean. Such laws, thus construed, all members and subjects of the government are LEGALLY bound to obey. This is the ssence of all government, no matter what its form. It nay be kingly, or aristocratic, or republican. In this ountry, the theory is that the majority govern, through Congress. They have set the Supreme Court apart to construe laws. Laws thus made and construed, all who onsider themselves citizens are legally bound to obey. In view of this, let us look at the Fugitive Slave Law. Congress has enacted it; the President has approved it; so far as it has ever come before the Suprem Court, it has been declared constitutional. Now, while this statute stands, thus regularly and unquestioned, on the statute book, do Free Soil members of Congress and Free Soil citizens mean to obey it, in good faith, by appointing officers to execute it, paying them, and sus taining them in their duty. If so, how do they reconcile all this with their anti-slavery professions that to return slaves to a master is sin? If they do not mean o act in such good faith, is not government resolved nto anarchy, where each man does what seems 'right in his own eves '? What use will there be in securing the repeal of this law, and enacting their great panaeen, JURY TRIAL, if citizens and subsequent Congresses are at liberty, on this Free Soil theory of government, to leave the new law disobeyed? If each Free Soiler is entitled to settle the meaning of laws, and determine his legal obligations by his own opinion and conscience, of course, there are just twenty million of men who have the same right as he; and this seems a singular method of securing that uniformity of law, without which there s, properly speaking, no government.

Let it be remembered, that I do not deny that our Free Soil friend, if a legislator, may try to get the law repealed. I do not deny that, as a lawyer, he may get ip a case, and try to make the Court reverse its decion. But I ask whether, while it remains on the statute book, and white the Supreme Court recognizes it as constitutional, he, as an Officer of Government, means o aid in giving effect to its provisions, by providing process and appointing officers, &c. After which, he not at liberty, as an honorable man and good citizen, to resist such process and such officers; but, contrari-wise, is bound to assist the one in executing the other, f lawfully called on to do so. From the nature of government, and the harmonious cooperation necessary to its success, no honorable man holding office under it has a right to abuse, discountenance and resist other officers, when engaged in the discharge of their lawful duties. He is bound to give a whole-hearted support to laws and offices belonging to the same State with him-

self. How incongruous and absurd for a Representa-

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tive to go about denouncing Marshals and Judges for obeying that Constitution which he also serves, and is voting them pay for serving! If the Free Soiler says Yes,' to my question above, and avows that he shall obey the regularly enacted laws of the country until they are repealed, then I ask, How does his relation to the catching of slaves, or any other subject on which Congress may legislate, differ from that of slaveholding Representatives themselves? If he says 'No,' and asserts that he has a right to interpret the Constitution for himself, and nullify an existing law, then, it seems to me, he turns the Government into an anarchy. Ev ery other man has the same right that he has. the Constitution will be one thing in Boston, and anoth er thing at Philadelphia; one thing one side of the street, and quite a different thing opposite. Shall such a man call himself a Union man—a supporter of the Constitution? Is he not the true no-Government man

of whom we hear so much? Even if his theory were correct, the Free Soil voter has not wholly discharged himself from responsibility from this slaveholding government. We are frequent ly asked, can one be responsible for the election of man, or the passage of a law, against which he voted No, perhaps not, under a government like the English. But, yes, very often, under a written Constitution like There are certain things which each office-holder may do, by virtue of that Constitution to which we, by mere voting, assent. Whether our candidate or hi opponent be chosen, our taking part in the election authorises those acts. Every voter in the last election is morally responsible for the election of President Pierce and for all the ordinary constitutional acts he may de Every voter, under this Constitution, is understo assent to this fundamental principle, that 'the majori ty shall govern,' When, under such a Constitution a ours, he enters a Presidential canvas, he, in effect says, 'My candidate shall be President, and execut the ordinary functions, if he gets the most votes ; an I agree that your candidate shall be President, and exercise all the ordinary functions of the office, if he ob tains more votes than my friend.' I will not stop no to unfold this idea, but every frank and honorable mind will readily see that this is an essential condition of constitutional government. But let it be remembered, that among the ordinary functions of our governme are many which give direct support to slavery. Let it be remembered that our discussion relates to the Constitution as it is. True, as we are often reminded, it may be amended. When amended, it will be a different thing; and when it becomes a different thing, our duties toward it will be different. But the question is

What shall we do with it as it is? When it is chang-

ed, we will change. Like Miss Martineau's little or

phan, when told not to cry, as his foot would not ache

o-morrow, replied, 'Then I won't cry to-morrow.

(Laughter and cheers.)

One friend, who took part in the discussion this afternoon, acknowledged the evil in the Constitution, but thought himself justified in swearing to support it wicked as it is, in order to gain power to change its wicked provisions. Take a parallel case. Here is church. It believes in the five points of Calvinism You live in the neighborhood, and would prefer should be a Universalist church. You resolve to join it in order to effect the change. You present yourself be fore the clergyman, and announce that you wish to join his church. He hands you the printed creed, and asks, Do you believe in the Trinity? in Natural Depravity &c. &c. You answer, 'Yes; on my faith as a Chris tian man, I do.' You sign the creed, and, after fur ther examination, are admitted to the church. Next morning, as you pass down the street, a friend accost you- 'Well, so you have turned Orthodox !' you cheerily reply. 'But you believe in Elec Depravity; and all the rest?' 'Not a bit of it.' 'But you signed the creed, and said you so be lieved?' 'Ah, that indeed. But I do not believe a word of it. My design, you see, is to change the church into a Universalist one; and I could not get power to do it in any way so readily as by professing believe in its doctrines and joining the body." (Great laughter and applause.) On this theory, Sheridan would have made a capital Free Soiler. Hearing once that his son had visited the depths of a coal mine, he asked the reason. 'I wanted, father, to say I had been down in a mine,' was the answer. 'O!' said Sheri DAN, 'I have no objection to your suying so; it was the going I thought unnecessary.' Now, we confess such a course for getting amend

ments does not strike us as strictly right! A 'New England country minister,' in the National Era, has explained, to his own entire satisfaction, this peculiarity of the Garrisonians in obstinately remembering, at the National Constitution. He traces this fault of ours to our being 'intensely moral and unimaginative' (Laughter.) He thinks any constant protest against and separation from a bad government, must be a sham and is insanity! Perhaps he would be pleased with the above sane and imaginative method of reforming churches! (Cheers.) Really, I am afraid we never shall suit every body

RUFUS CHOATE said, a while ago, that our philanthrop, was not practical enough, ' not judicious '! This cler ical critic thinks we are too literal, not 'imaginative enough! We are taunted with being old-fashioned Federalists

because we hold that the Supreme Court is the authori tative and final interpreter of the Constitution and laws. Youthful statesmen quite scout the idea of being crippled in their legislative capacity by any decision of that Court. Let us, as the lawyers say, suppose case. Congress, full of these independent young Amer icans, enacts a law. The Court hold it unconstitution al, and set it aside. To-morrow, Congress assemble again, and says, 'We are not bound by any decisio of that Court. We will pass that law right over again A man is arrested for violating it. The Court order him to be discharged. The Marshal, by order of the President, undertakes to put the law in force. Citizens sue him as a trespasser. The Court directs the jury to give them damages. Of course, the Marshal will not attempt to execute the law again. Thus, Congress may enact a pile of laws as high as the Washington Monument, and they are waste paper, unless the Court will allow their validity. Let President Pierce attempt to execute a law which Chief Justice Taney declares unconstitutional, and the Government goes to pieces, or the President stands balked. This is the practical reason why Congress can do nothing, except in accordance with the opinion of the Supreme Court. One friend described, with great eloquence, this af-

ternoon, the mighty power of a vote. It is a great power. He told us he could not, in the sight of God, give it up, though confessing there were some things unrighteous in the Constitution. Suppose I was rumseller, making twenty thousand dollars a year, and giving fifteen thousand to the anti-slavery cause; and me one of you should find me at the Whole World's Temperance Convention-I shall not be at the other (cheers)-and ask me how I could consistently engage n the manufacture and sale of intoxicating drinks. I reply- Think of the money I make by it, to pour int the coffers of the anti-slavery cause! God gave in this sagacity to make money; H gave me the chemical knowledge to make alcohol; I cannot consent to forego the exercise of such a mighty power, merely to satisfy these "unimaginative" scruples of yours. 'But, you answer, 'behind all this, lies the question whether you are doing right of not!' I shake my head with the air of a statesman, and mutter, 'Great power great power is rum!' Let me assure our friend, that we have no doubt of the great power of a vote, especially when the right to throw it is honestly gained and that we are willing to do for the slave any thing we can get the power to do, without telling a lie. He may ask me to do any thing in his behalf, except to become a knave. That he cannot expect me to become, and I could not help him if I should. (Loud applause.) After all, there is not so much difference between a and our opponents as some imagine. We by no means

deny the power men get by the use of the ballot and the tlement of the question. He thought they would prefer acquisition of office. If any one can honestly get of Dissolution. I value Congress as one of the readiest fice, let him get it. Inside of Congress, he will be lis- means of letting them know the real state of thing tened to by thousands, while here he must often be con-tent with hundreds. The only real dispute between us while I value it, it is as the bridge—the bridge that and those who allow the Constitution to be pro-slavery, shall span the chasm between Fancull Hall and the is one regarding personal honor and integrity. Shall a united States Senate. (Applause.) The man that man, for any purpose, promise to do what he does not walks over it must carry with him every one of the men refuse office and power from any such scruples. euil Hall-he must drop nothing by the way. (Great But history, from the earliest Christians downwards, is cheering.) I do honor politics, when by it you can full of instances of men who refused all connection with transfer a gigantic question from the platform of a meetgovernment, and all the influence which office could be- ing like this to the Congress of the United States, with stow, rather than deny their principles, or aid in doing out the sacrifice of personal honor, or the stifling of wrong. Yet I never heard them called either idiots or honest convictions. I would like that the listeners in over-scrupulous. Sir Thomas More need never have those halls should distinctly understand which Union it mounted the scaffold, had he only consented to take the is Free Soilers love-the Union of history-of Wall oath of supremacy. He had only to tell a lie with so- street-of every day life-or a Union whose nicture lemnity, as we are asked to do, and he might not only they have hidden in their hearts. Such doctrines a have saved his life, but, as the trimmers of his day Free Soilers have avowed here to-day make them, pracwould have told him, doubled his influence. Pitt re- tically, as thorough Disunionists as we are. I want the signed his place as Prime Minister of England, rather world to know that fact. (Cheers.) than break faith with the Catholics of Ireland. Should Criticise, Criticise, Carrierse, till what is now War Office, he sympathized with our fathers in their the same course, we may, perhaps, bring others to con cent blood. To avoid this pollution, he resigned his before the roused conscience of a determined party place and his means of subsistence, at a period of life if it can convince the nation that, as in England in Office takes his hat down from the peg where it has the government, or over it, to have its way-then is used to hang for twenty years, methinks I hear our politics of unspeakable value. One man, at least, 'New England country minister' cry out, 'Friend Sharpe, you are absurdly scrupulous, too "intensely moral," and quite "unimaginative"! 'You may innocently aid such an institution as Government in do- exchanged a principle for a voter. He never gave up ing what you think wrong,' adds another. While Par- one of his ideas to gain a vote. Our friends nearer ty yelps at his heels, 'My dear sir, you are quite losing home have that failing-they sometimes hide their banyour influence!' And, indeed, it is melancholy to re- ners in order to recruit their ranks. Mr. Giddings has the War Office (!) dwindled into the mere Granville spirit that opened the doors of our Court House for Sha Sharpe of history! the man of whom Mansfield and drach, led Jerry by the hand through the streets of Sy-Hargrave were content to learn law, and Wilberforce racuse, and checked Gorsuch in his hunting for men.

the British Catholics, submitting to exclusion, for Gorsuch will be, to them, tame in the comparison. more than a century, from professions and offices, from Our quarrel with politicians and parties will never Norfolk, any time during the century, in the seat of his Fancuil Hall and another thing at Pittsburg-not on place? No; he stayed outside the door of that House agreement with hell. (Cheers.) till after two elections, in 1828, the oath being abolish- The conviction that SLAVERY IS A SIN is the Gibraltan (Great cheering.)

Peers, and take the eath of allegiance to the Empire. It should be our object to create such a public opinion all an honest man could for the Euperor's support. pon that will serve us for this. We can honestly But he refused office, and answered the Emperor, 'No; claim, that, taking this principle with us, we have I will live a private man at Lagrange.' It seems he sternly tried the Institutions of the land. The Church fice with the hope of reforming Napoleon! But instead left her. The State tempts the slaveholder to conof that, an impracticable, 'unimaginative 'old fool, he tinue so, guarantees his slave property, and helps him same sad lack of imagination; for, in 1831, when anarchy lowered over them, thirty million of Frenchmen ly think slavery to be a sin. knew no where else to turn than to that same private But how shall we impress this conviction, deeply man of Lagrange for a father and leader! (Loud and vividly, solemnly on the people, while hard by us stands

men dependent on his patronage, and jealous foes pay for returning runaways, because all human govern ery temptation, and alone, descrited by his scientific shals to help hunt them, because because because ARAGO, without swearing, retains his office. France, bosom; but do not talk about it, because-

that same Lagrange, Oscar Favette, grandson of our subject of Crashaw's epitaph-FAYETTE, who refuses to swear support to a government he abhors. And what does VICTOR HUGO tell us, standing among the exiles in Jersey, over the grave of JEAN Most men listening to such casuistry and hair-split Bosquer, that 'noble soldier of Democracy'? His ting would conclude to put off their anti-slavery to 'a touching elequence reaches its climax when he says, in more convenient season.' There is opium enough in it reference to this same oath of allegiance, - 'A yearning to calm an earthquake. Our cause, instead of flashing for home was gnawing at his heart; he felt that the forth in blinding light, the MENE TEKEL of God's own recollection of all he had left behind him was slowly writing, shrinks to be the mere shuttlecock of politics. poisoning him; he might have seen again his absent Sir, we are accustomed to say that we wish these Free friends, the beloved places-his native city, his house : Soil leaders would declare their views on these questions.

hunted with bloodhounds and women whipped to prosti- which they are willing to stand before the cor strive to be worthy followers of these I have named, will accept half a dozen pretty good reasons as equi

from every supposed compromise relating to slavery, I've sworn so often, I never think anything about it'! let them tell the nation so. (Cheers.) If they go hold- My object in making these remarks is to turn the leap forward fifty common years in one such day. party of real service to the cause. (Cheers.) I was assured lately by a slaveholder of Alabama, who sought an interview with me, that the

deny the utility of political organizations. We do not would be ready either for Dissolution or some full set-I know it is rare, in our days, to see principles that he has made the roof echo with in Fan-

I not resign a petty ballot, rather than break faith with the slave? I find a distinct recognition of the principle upon which we have acted, applied to a different point, in the life of that patriarch of the anti-slavery enfer-prise, Granville Sharpe. While an underclerk in the of the Constitution. Let us be encouraged. Pursuing struggle for independence. 'Orders reached his office fess their concealed opinions even before quitting public to ship munitions of war to the revolted colonies. If life. If politics can flash these startling torches full in his hand had entered the account of such a cargo, it would have contracted, in his eyes, the stain of innowhen he could no longer hope to find any other lucra- 1829, 1831, 1834 and 1845, the people are beginning tive employment.' As the thoughtful clerk of the War to press to their hearts a cause which is fated, through fleet how, from that moment, the mighty underclerk of once and again justified, in his place in Congress, the (Cheers.) Let us hope Mr. Smith will go yet further. Indeed, we are only doing what all honest men have and show his hearers some principles compared with done, in all ages of the world. Look at the course of which Shadrach's rescue and the just punishment of

the House of Commons and House of Lords, rather than cease till their anti-slavery be like Cicero's noble dequalify themselves by an oath abjuring the Pope. They scription of Law-not one thing at Christiana and night have purchased power and office at the price of another thing at Washington-not one thing at Syraone falsehood. One lie would have placed the Duke of cuse and another thing at Buffalo, not one thing at fathers! Do we honor him less that he refused power on thing in an anti-slavery meeting to gain confidence, and such conditions? Look at the course of O'Connell. another thing in November to gain votes-but every Remember his love of office, of power, of political influ- where, at all times, and in all capacities-radical, defience-with a nation in his right hand; shut out, as a ant, aggressive, trampling on all slave laws, and either Catholic, from the House of Commons. Did he take openly denying the legality of slavery itself, or repudithe oath of abjuration that he might gain his rightful ating the government as a covenant with death and an

ed, he pushed door and oath before him, and strode to of our cause. We cannot make crises, but we can prehis rightful place and influence like an honest man. pare for them. Perhaps slavery is finally to be starved Great cheering.)

Out, rather than reasoned down or prayed down. SelWhen Napoleon sat down on the throne of France, fish and material interests, the laws of labor and trade. he was anxious for the countenance of FAYETTE, and may be the direct and immediate causes of its abolition. urged him to accept a seat in the house of French Disunion-war, civil or foreign-may break the chain. It was Napoleon's hand that had opened Fayerre's as will soonest set these agencies in motion, and most prison door at Olmutz; and doubtloss gratitude would effectually use the opportunities that occur. An appeal have led the unsullied hero of three Revolutions to do to conscience againt slavery, as a sin, is the only weawas lacking in imagination! (Laughter and cheers.) fellowshipped slaveholders, and refused to rebuke He should have overlooked the despotism, and taken of- them. She thus compromised with iniquity, and we went home to Lagrange, sacrificed office, and saved hunt his runaways. We abjure it, and will neither vote nothing but his integrity! France, too, shared the nor take office in support of such a covenant with death.

a party, confessing slavery to be a sin,- 'Yes-but still A year ago, this burlesque Napoleon, who sits like it is no harm to give the slaveholder additional political an incubus on France, called on Anago, the head of power for every man he can steal-it is no harm to European science, to give up the Observatory, unless guarantee him against their resistance-no harm to let he would take the oath of allegiance. Anago-on him hunt runaways a little longer! The Constitution whose brow the winter of eighty years is hid by civic is wicked in supporting slavery, but let us cling to it laurels and the wrenths of every science, with young for the present, in hopes it will be changed ! We may watching for his office. But the old man put aside ev- ments are imperfect !- yes, we may even appoint Marprethren, refused to sully his lips with such an oath. government is very necessary, and we could not get 'New England country ministers' may jeer at his scru- along comfortably without it ! Slavery is a sin-no doubt ples. Louis Napoleon believed in virtue, and trembled. of it—and the Church is verily guilty in hugging it to her proud and grateful, loads him with blessings, amid the GARRISON is an infidel-the Church is very powerfulapplause of Europe and of all honest men. (Enthusi- and, beside, what should we do with the children, if we could not send them to the Sunday School?' And The same scruple has, within a month, sent back to this is the 'Conscience' party !- like, probably, the

· One whose conscience was a thing That troubled neither Church nor King.'

He had but to say a word. That execrable humiliation Mr. President, I do not believe they have any clear which M. Bonaparte calls amnesty, or pardon, was of views, any settled principles in regard to them. The fered to him; he honestly rejected it-and he is dead." nearer I have got to any of the gentlemen, the clearer Yet when, in a nation like ours, where every sixth has it always been to my mind, that they have never man is a slave-where the ermine of justice is defiled, considered these points; indeed, have always particuand the national banner clings to the flag-staff heavy larly remembered to forget them. In my opinion, many with blood-where the Bible is to millions a forbidden of them refuse to take ground in regard to these matbook-where Religion panders to Power-where men are ters, simply because they have yet found no position in tution-when, in such a land, where our difference with If asked to justify the oath, it is singular that each man government is not about forms of office, or the dogmas has a different method, of his own invention. Someof a creed, but of outrages which make the blood cold and times a man will give you half a dozen reasons, allowing wrongs that shame the age ;-when, in such a land, we that no one of them is perfectly sound, but hoping you men call us 'impracticable,' and 'morbidly scrupu- lent to one really valid. Visit him the next day, and lous, and priests taunt us with folly for 'throwing he has got still a different excuse. The frankest man of the party, one standing in the very front of the van, If Free Soilers go to Congress, holding themselves free when asked how he justified his oath, answered-'Oh,

ing themselves at liberty to disregard, in their official thoughts of the rank and file of the party to these capacity, the laws of the land, let them tell the nation questions; show them the rottenness of their present so. (Cheers.) We have heard it long enough here at platform, and urge them to force their leaders to form home from those for whom nobody is responsible, but and express some opinions upon them. The party is in whose claims for the party are leading men to put con- danger of degenerating into a mere scramble for loaves. fidence in it. If, as we are told, Free Soil Senators adopt and fishes. Some in it are glad to rise into notice on it, as a rule of their official conduct, to appoint no man the creating wave of a great public question, but anxto office who is willing to obey the laws of the land, we lous to avoid all the odium of discussing its delicate shall criticise, and criticise, and carricise, till they and unpopular points,-willing to use other men as avow the fact in the face of the Senate itself, instead of cats' paws, and to borrow of abolitionists every thing leaving their friends to claim it for them in our meet- but their principles and the odium which an honest adings. (Cheers.) A few such avowals would arouse vocacy of them has incurred. Let its members force much wholesome discussion-much radical discussion, its leaders to meet the radical questions which really and have a strong tendency to inform the South of the belong to the cause. The effort will give them strength, real state of Northern public opinion. The cause would while it keeps them pure, and we shall have a political

leading men of his State were by no means informed of Thrones and Money, yet heaves and struggles like the the real state of feeling here among those who call them- old giants beneath Ætna, and slowly the day dawns on selves abolitionists. Could they be so, he added, they her. Cease to watch her fate so earnestly as to firget

erty was looking forward, as if welcoming, in glad expectation, our Future. On the new coinage, she has turned her face backward, as if all hope lay in swiving to equal the past, and in catching a fresh inspiration from the genius of the old world. Perhaps she is right—but let us hope not. The labors of past years have done much for the cause. Those to come will show the fruit. Long lived trees make roots first. We would not exaggerate our work, but it seems as if the ploughshare needed to go deeper now than in 1776; and this, perhaps, explains why the flying patriots and brave hearts of the old world melt like wax in the heat of our day. Hungary lends us one, now a mute, and now a parrot, learning his lesson only too faithfully. Ireland sends men, for whom the loudest hurahs resound in the streets of Charleston and New Orleans. England adds a new chapter to the book of Snons—the author's own tour through slave cities, cognizant of erty was looking forward, as if welcoming, in glad exauthor's own tour through slave cities, cognizant of nothing that has happened since the days of Queen woven with their social system. But duty is duty,

print is the word IMPOSSIBLE. Freedom of thought against unrighteous laws is like one of the vital forces of Nature contending with dead matter. The old Scottish proverb runs,

'The King said, 'Sail!' The Wind said, 'No!'

In such cases, we need not trouble ourselves to ask if Constitution in the clause securing freedom of speech tighter; or, as I have said, to look the subject of knew how many of their favorite Ideas and Institutions human nature, given to us by God, and which r human laws or institutions can ever set aside 'knew how many of their favorite Ideas and Institutions human laws of the would fall before it. The unexpected results of Free (cheers.)

The resolution was adopted unanimously, and me of the nursery tale that taught us how the sea beme of the nursery tale that taught us how the sea beThe Rev. H. Solly said that he had been asked A mother gave her boy, setting out to seek his fortune, a mill. One charm would make it grind out any thing you wished: another set it at rest. The boy, as the story goes, opened his shop and soon grew rich, bringing out every thing that was asked for. At last, a sea captain, who had long wondered at this marvellous fatal than another to the denomination, and more tree-becomes to their mission as a Church it was to shop, whence every thing came out, though nothing treacherous to their mission as a Church, it was to shop, whence every thing came out, though nothing separate doctrine from practice. He (Mr. Solly) had been particularly pleased to hear their Hon. Secretary observe, a few minutes before, that he begin to work. Returning at night, he stole it, and had an increasing tendency to estem the practical put to sea. When in want of salt, he brought the little rather than the theoretical. While they ought not machine on deck, and spoke the charm-

'Mill, Mill, grind away, Let us have some salt to-day.'

ship, and below the waves it has been grinding on ever the meeting to force a since, and made the whole ocean salt.

would previously satisfy himself upon that point. What was Unitarian Christianity worth, if it did not include doctrine and practice? If it kept soleties a large of the Compromises. It worked well for a large of sure docsy. and so it has gone on grinding. It has ground out an tion.

The Rev. E. Tagarr wished to have it understood. The Rev. E. Tagarr wished to have it understood that resolution, they CLE TOM'S CABIN. It has ground the Methodist Church and comminging of sentiment. into pieces, and the Baptist likewise, and men say it is Foreign Unitarian Association to the officers of the God grant it; and grant also that it may EMANCIPATION FOR THE SLAVES. (Loud cheers.)

From the London Inquirer. BRITISH AND FOREIGN UNITARIAN ASSOCIATION. twenty-eighth anniversary of the British

and Foreign Unitarian Association was celebrated on Wednesday, May 18th. After the Annual Report was read, The Rev. S. A. STEINTHAL asked whether the res-olution respecting slavery, to be brought forward

at the evening meeting, would go forth as the resolution of the British and Foreign Unitarian Association, or as the resolution of the members of the association then and there assembled?
The Chairman said the resolution would be con-

sidered in the latter character.
Mr. Estlin, thereupon, wished to put such an amendment to the passage in the report treating of the question of slavery, as should identify the res-olution with the business meeting, but The Charrman would not allow of any amend-

ent but one rejecting the entire report.

The Rev. J. Gordon said, that at the meeting held two years ago, it had been declared competent for any member to move that the report be not re-

ceived, but that he could not move that any portion Mr. Estlin reluctantly withdrew the resolution : not being willing to oppose the reception of a re-port, with almost the whole of which he entirely

At the Collation, in the evening, the Chair was taken by H. Crabb Robinson, Eq., of whom the Anti-Slavery Advocate speaks as the 'venerable Chairman, whose name will go down to posterity Chairman, whose name will go down to posterity as the beloved friend of Charles Lamb and Wil-

After some other speaking,
The Chairman called upon Mr. Estlin to speak
to the toast, 'Civil and Religious Liberty all the
world over.' liam Wordsworth.

world over. Mr. Estlin availed himself of the opportunity to

introduce the resolution with respect to slavery in the United States, referred to in the Secretary's Report. It was as follows :-

'That while this meeting would cherish the honored names of their brethren in the United States, who have labored earnestly and successfully in illustration and defence of their common faith, and sincerely desire to draw closer the links of fraternal feeling which bind them together, it cannot but deeply deplore the fearful injury to the cause of pure Christianity from the con-tinuance of slavery in America, and would affectionate-ly entreat the Unitarian churches of that land, in some way corresponding with their social position and ele-vated religious principles, to bear their testimony against this great evil.

He (Mr. Estlin) thought it unnecessary, before such an audience, to enlarge upon the enormities of slavery. He presumed that every one there had read 'Uncle Tom's Cabin;' and he trusted that the Key' to that work would be no less widely perused. There would then be no more occasion for anti-slavery speeches. (Hear, hear.) If he had any desire to make an anti-slavery speech, he should make it a personal question, and ask every one hearing him to endeavor to realize, in his or her own case, the experience of the slave. If a wife or daughter of one of our ministers were shipwrecked upon the Southern coast of America, and sold into slavery, our pulpits would ring with denunci-into slavery, our pulpits would ring with denunci-ations of the deed. (Hear, hear.) Those who now objected to the resolution in his hands would not object to it then. He rejoiced that it was thought that the time had come when the British and Foreign Unitarian Association was called upon to entertain the subject of American slavery. He never had been able to believe that Unitarianism, whether in America or England, could be benefitted by their pursuing the mission of silence upon this momentous evil. (Cheers.) He would not judge of their motives, but he did not for a moment doubt, that if the American Unitarians had led the van of the anti-slavery movement, they would have done more for Unitarianism than by all their sermons and writings. He was glad now, however, that the British and Foreign Association felt that, as Unitarians to the interval of their love of freedom, they ought not, the state of the house of one whose friendship I for objected to the resolution in his hands would not say that it is only within the last few ye

our own task. Cease trusting too much to the reflection of European opinion. Some faces are turned too constantly thither. On our old coins the head of Liberty was looking forward, as if welcoming, in glad exfavorable opinion of the Association, and the Chairman had that morning stated, that this after-

Anne.

Our fate is in our own hands. With freedom of discussion we are omnipotent. No vicious Institution can stand against it. The only word a Free Press cannot print is the word impossible. Freedom of thought a-My impression is, that those who fill influential pulpits in America would save their country many great perils by looking the matter fairly in the face [hear]—and that the time is come for them to stand up boldly on behalf of the rights of their oppressed fellow-men. Whoever will consult the work of M. Tocqueville, whose observations are of great importance, for he is a statesman and a man of though there was a voyage. No matter what Despotism says, if a Free Press says, 'No!' Indeed, we might find the best argument for the anti-slavery character of the Constitution in the clause securing freedom of speech and of the press. It would hardly be exaggeration to say, that the forms of Government are of little importance while discussion is free. As the Sun seems to burn up the spots on his surface, so the Press purifies the Government it rules. (Cheers.) When the Saxon race broke the fetters of human thought, they little important to be asserted than Constitutional rights, and that those are, the inalienable rights of human nature, eigen to us by God, and which no

to neglect the inculcation of truth, they ought not to neglect the fulfilment of duty. History that when any church separated the advoc truth from that of practical duty, it was doo Soon the salt relled on to the deck. But the poor thief had not stopped to learn the other charm which set the mill at rest. So it ground on till the salt sunk his adopted; but his proposition did not in reality bind adopted in the latter his proposition did not in reality bind adopted in the latter his proposition did not in reality bind adopted in the latter his proposition did not stopped in the latter his proposition did not stopp the meeting to force a subject upon the American Association contrary to its rules, as Mr. Furness So of the Press. Our fathers set it up here, expect- would previously satisfy himself upon that point and the sign of sure decay—(cheers.)
The Rev. S. A. Steinthal seconded the proposi

anti-slavery movement much too large for that girdle; The Rev. E. Tagart wished to have it understood (cheers)—and William Lloyd Garrison larger still—that, if the meeting adopted that resolution, they would be diverting that assemblage into a meeting continuous transfer of the second with the second e-ground out the manhood of Christiana-and Unwas sent through the officers of the British and now engaged doing the same good office to the Presby- American Association, the subject would become a terian. God grant it; and grant also that it may grind on, without fear of man, of parties, of Institutions, or even of the charge of personality. Then we may be sure that, in his good time, it will grind out fixed part of the business of the Society-(hear.) The Rev. H. Solly explained that they did not

desire the resolution to be transmitted through the officers of the British and Foreign Unitarian Association, but through the Chairman.

Mr. Charles Green, of Hackney, protested against the idea that the Anti-Slavery resolution itself should be considered as proceeding from the Association. Many who had suffered it to pass in silence, altogether dissented from the propriety of its introduction.

The Chairman remarked that Mr. Green should

have said this before the resolution had been The Rev. J. Gordon said that he came to Londo to meet certain gentlemen who were to prepare the business for that day, and the result was that the gentlemen gathered together agreed that it was bet ter, considering the difference of opinion which existed as to the introduction of the question of slavery at the meeting of the Unitarian Association that the resolution relating thereto should be intro-duced at the convivial meeting. To that the per-sons assembled were consenting parties, and it was in consistency with the decision that the pas in the committee's report was drawn up. No did regard Mr. Solly's proposition as a departure from that arrangement, inasmuch as it attempted indirectly to connect the question of slavery with the British and Foreign Unitarian Association whereas that question was professedly withdrawn from the Association. His (Mr. Gordon's) objection to this proposition was, -not that he was un-willing to express his opinions on slavery, or that he could not agree with the resolutions proor even to a much stronger resolution, but because he was not willing to confound the extrancous matter with the proper trancous matter with the proper business of the meeting. Were he to consent to the introduction of the question of slavery into the business of the Association, he should most undoubtedly claim the right of introducing other social questions, questions standing in connection with Christianity as slavery did—(hear.) They would be entirely diverting the Association from the proper objects of its regard, and it might then be made an Anti-State Church Association, an Association to promote secular education, or teetotalism, or per (loud cries of 'hear, hear.') To that he riously objected. When he understood that the course adopted upon this subject was not to be considered as being formally connected with the Association, he understood that no resolution would be introduced there which should seem to institute that formal connection. The Rev. H. Solly said it must be understood

that in no way had he been a party to the arrangement of which Mr. Gordon spoke, and had not therefore been in any degree bound by it—(hear.) The Chairman in putting the respective proposi-tions to the meeting, spoke himself very decidedly against that made by Mr. Solly. A show of hands having been taken, he declared the amendment moved by Mr. Tagart to be adopted.

[We may add that whatever might have been the

difference of opinion as to the disposal of the resolu-ion, there was—if we except the case of Mr. Green -only one opinion manifested as to the propriety of adopting it.]-Ed. Inquirer.

The Rev. T. Made moved that the acknowledgments of the meeting be tendered to the chairman for his kindness in undertaking the duties of that

The CHAIRMAN, after a few humorous remarks in

many years enjoyed-I mean Mr. The -(hear, hear.) near, near.) I wen remem and saying, 'This is the most tian address I have yet seen'-said, I can have no reluctance whom such an appeal has p time, it did not fall to my lot to time, it did not fail to my lot to hear nothing in sharery more to be cons tectotalism; that it did not commar any more than questions of details party polities; that those matter fully to Christianity as does the detem which bids us to conside as brutes; which denies the right self; which says, that though he of all the faculties of man, he co sold as a chattel; and, as I have legal authority of America, which ight has no rights wh naster owes him no obligation that this is a question which d Unitarians, I reply that, whether tarians or not, it does without Unitarian Christians—(cheering fo Out of this, the question has off Out of this, the question has often a such apologists for slavery as Dr. l' Mr. Bache: [Minister, of Birm

The CHAIRMAN: I think that he is (turning to Mr. Bache) wish, I will w name. The question has been asked can admit any man who supports or ry ;-who, for example, as the Fugitive Slave Law, into our myself, I can only compare the man of that description has preof ground spoken of in medieva which the demon had trodden therefore, no grass could grow think it impossible that the pull stained by an apologist or defender of any laws which tend to prop it up. of any laws which tend to propit up, can or that any good influence can proceed fi preaching of that Gospel which the Savio world said came to set man free, by t which make him a slave —(loud and

ADDRESS FROM THE DEMOCRATS OF ENGLAND TO THE DEMOCRATS OF THE UNITED STATES.

BRETHREN IN ORIGIN, IN FREEDOM, AND IN PRINCIP Your liberties have grown up out of an old E lish root. On your side of the Atlantic, terests of the multitude were not clipped terests of the multitude were not clipped behereditary powers. Among you, all our prin have grown strong, which here are soupars feeble. We are proud of you, as foliating of our aspirations. We look up to you, as influences of a mighty ad services for us and for Europe, which no oth

power on earth can perform.
You already sympathize deeply with the liberties of Europe. You are indignant that Hungary and in Italy, foreign desposism has fered to control the sacred right of those of to enact their own independent form of gove In assisting, by whatever means of diplant of arms, the legitimate independence of i nations, you will promote also our interests. rendering our aristocracy anxious to make the eiliating.
You are the first Democratic Republic which h

ever spread over a vast continent, and has ex its liberty to the millions. You are not a sincity, and that a dominant one, as Rome of old, as Venice; but your liberty penetrates your winass—is understood, loved, and supported by real working men. Among you never needs to be poor nor to be made man may rise to the highest offices nor is the wife or daughter of Again, we say, we are proud of you, and look unlike you than we ourselves are.

Desiring thus your greatness, your honor, our effective diplomatic intervention in the rightful liberties, we cannot without grief vexation see any great forces operating your influence into the scale many of you sympathize with Euro and spoil the great work which our ima

We cannot be ignorant of the grievous fact in all parts of your Union there is a new and gerous dread of those broad principles of Fr which your glorious grandfat England. Their words, we believe. men are created FREE and EQUAL.' Of truths of this nature sinking deep int ciences and hearts can popular liberty of t grieves us to hear the taunts of the erty, but only your own selfish liberty; and you broke loose from England under false preb which you do not yourselves believe. It mus still worse to be told that those among you white descent, dread to supp nterests, which are identified Hungary and of Italy, lest they should

principle inconvenient to themselves We will not exhort you to philant are ashamed to seem to think that we kindness than you, or that we better u how to administer the internal affairs try. But we implore you, as our t rethren, to whom a vast power is from whom every oppressed democracy tope and aspir the cause of HUMAN FREEDOM, or to be dominant among yourselves while slavery, oligarehy, and despotism.

crats of America, let not the Russ Austrian paralyze your power to he arousing the fears of rich men lest hance go so far as to make black I Despise as traitors all who would betr erty for selfish wealth. Remember principles, the corner-stone of your pendence; and to secure that that Un gloriously indissoluble, take care gress reverence its foundation, and the tion be recognized by Congress UNIVERSAL human freedom. If not be made free to-day, (about which w opinion,) yet let it be manifest to t you are taking measures for the children, and that the pr stran selling your fellow-countrym tory and ready to vanish. Let no su tory and ready to vanish. Let no such of despotism steal in and corrupt your fi-teaching you to act the despot yourselves in your high mission to promote the w-gress, and purify yourselves for that gl-vice by determining to verify in every pa Union the words of your own Manifestoone duty will not supersede no

Brace up your hearts to extinguish slaver, as it can be done with safety, and you will have double resolution, double moral animate the swooning liberties of Euro animate the swooning liberties of Europenot, we pray you! but urge your Government
all active aid which can be prudently and wise
given, and that without delay. Strengthen you
own liberties, fulfil your providential destiny, as
earn the glory of rescuing fallen Europe-a glory
which our Government does not know how to apprecise or to add the contract of the con which our Government preciate or to achieve.

[This Address is signed by George JACOR HO YOAKE and 1857 others, prominent among the sur ing-men of England, and representing a great ma titude.]

Some 1800 (as stated) men, who styl selves 'Democrats of England, address crats of the United States, on the subj slavery. If these self-styled Engli have not their hands full to mitigate slavery at home, perhaps Americans will listen to respectfully to their unasked for instruction advice, but not before. John Bull, from the endeavers to the dukes and duchesses, has an oblique of vision, and a self-conceit, which are within parallel.—Providence Post.

This is the first 'Democratic' respons English Address we have seen on this side of the lantic. And yet, what can be more kind or inoffees in its language and spirit than the Address aforest Our complaint would be, that it lacks point and post and deals too gingerly with a nation which is traiten to all the principles of justice and humanity. it admits that it may not be safe to liberate the slare. immediately. Folly !- ED. Lis.

JUNE THE]

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ANTI-SL. The MASSACHU lass Meeting, true principles of f the town, on Ricquent Speak tercourse, with I mhine to invite redom on the a It is expected t DELL PHILLIPS, E.

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Slave Bill ;—An of the United St en and others ding Secreta Letter to Lewis ? an Missionary We hail the pr ne, with inexpi tlantic it will r ien, a few yeni ted to compa rought in popu olitionist shoul Colonization scho ons, and Slaver an soil, this vol which the most a these great a dark concer the American Co me better acqu

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In saying that re add with gre severingly e hurch an ant Right Rev. L. S Church in the St o talk of the it lared that 'n hey can produ ded to prone ery, as it exists der of Divine he only thing uld still cling ast a branch o his Iven among

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INCONSTITU SPOONER. Se by Bela Mara This Essay y Mr. Spooner, ice at this time ir, troubled in perstale themse ective franchis

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No Union with Slaveholders.

BOSTON, JUNE 24, 1853.

FOURTH OF JULY! ANTI-SLAVERY CELEBRATION.

The Massachusetts Anti-Slavery Society will holy Meeting, in honor and for the promotion of the neinles of Liberty and Independence, at AB-N, in the well-known Grove near the Centre

diktorn, on MONDAY, JULY 4th.

Sequent Speaking, the Songs of Freedom, Social Incourse, with pic-nic entertainments, together with arral attractions of the place and its scenery, all ne to invite a large gathering of the friends of edmen the approaching, as on former anniversa-

is expected that WILLIAM LLOYD GARBISON, WEN PRILLIPS, EDMUND QUINCY, CHARLES L. REMOND. CALES STETSON, Rev. ANDREW T. Foss, and seval other speakers will attend.

The Old Colony Railroad declining this year to the accustomed accommodation of reduced fare ecial trains, all who go by that road must take, rse, the regular trains. Those leave Boston, at M.; and Plymouth, at 64 and 10, A. M. Rese leave the Grove for Boston, at 54, P. M.; for oth, about 6, P. M. Fare, Boston to Abington, nck, 81 16; Plymouth to Abington, and back, children under fifteen, half-price.

Told water in abundance will be furnished in ove; and there will be an ample supply of pro-

Committee

Arrange'ts.

FRANCIS JACKSON. BOURNE SPOONER, SAMUEL MAY, JR., LEWIS FORD, THOMAS J. HUNT, BRIGGS ARNOLD, SAMUEL DYER, ELBRIDGE SPRAGUE,

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NEW PUBLICATIONS.

NEOUS WRITINGS ON SLAVERY. By WILLIAM Boston: Published by John P. Jewett & Co. reland, Ohio : Jewett, Proctor & Worthington. plon : Sampson Low, Son & Co. 1853. pp. 670 With a Portrait of the Author.]

We have here embraced, in one large and hand nely printed volume, the various works of Judge on the subject of African Colonization and Ameri-Slavery. The following are its contents :-

laquiry into the Character and Tendency of the can Colonization, and American Anti-Slavery So -A View of the Action of the Federal Governin behalf of Slavery ;-On the Condition of the esple of Color in the United States :- Address wiends of Constitutional Liberty, on the Violaby the United States House of Representatives, of Bolt of Petition ;- Introductory Remarks to the of of the American Church contained in the re-History of the Protestant Episcopal Church in a,' by the Bishop of Oxford ;-A Letter to the it Rev. L. Silliman Ives, Bishop of the Protestant ch in the State of North Carolina ;-Address to nts of New Mexico and California, on the sion by Congress to provide them with Territorial raments, and on the Social and Political Evils of ry :-Letter to Hon. William Nelson, M. C. on Mr Compromise :- A Letter to the Hon, Samuel A Representative in Congress from the City of Bosis reply to his Apology for voting for the Fugitive Bill ;- An Address to the Anti-Slavery Christians be United States, signed by a number of Clergyand others :- Letter to Rev. R. S. Cook, Corr ding Secretary of the American Tract Society ;er to Lewis Tappan, Esq., Treasurer of the Ameri-

with inexpressible pleasure. On both sides of the tie it will now find many purchasers and readers, a few years since its circulation would have been ed to comparatively few -such has been the change popular feeling on this subject. No antiy will be complete without it, and every onist should try to own a copy of it. Until the ration scheme is utterly paralyzed in its operas, and Slavery ceases to curse and pollute the Amersoil, this volume will constitute a magazine, from rials may be drawn where to continue the war of extermination against both bese great abominations. To those who are yet in dark concerning the true character and designs of American Colonization Society, and who wish to bebetter acquainted with the principles and purs of the American Anti-Slavery Society, we comof Judge Jay's 'Inquiry' respecting these rival as-ations. WILLIAM JAY is not one of the 'fanatics' draists,' who are so constantly made the marks of ridicule; he is a stanch Episcopalian, and therenot a 'Come-outer'; he has never questioned the dness of the first day of the week or the divine aucity of the Bible, and therefore is not an 'infihe has not committed himself as the advocate of an's Rights, and therefore is not for taking woman of her appropriate sphere '; he is under oath to ort the Constitution of the United States, and bre is not a 'no-government man.' Besides, he ghly circumspect, and eminently judicious in the ntation of his views, and makes no charge which os not substantiate by irrefragible evidence .if any man can conciliate our opponents, he is

course, in saying what Judge Jay has not done, reference to certain other unpopular movements, merely stating a fact, and not speaking invidi-Profoundly and justly as is the memory of Jay, the father, revered by the American peop of WILLIAM JAY, the son, will deserve to be held derity in even more grateful appreciation. The al hereism of the latter, in espousing the most hated of the age at a period and under circumstances ch made almost every other man in the nation, ocring a similar position and enjoying such a reputatecreant to all the principles of liberty, surpasses hat his noble sire performed in the revolutionary sele for American independence.

saying that Judge JAY is a stanch Episcopalian, all with great pleasure, that he has faithfully and eringly exerted himself to make the Episcopal ch an anti-slavery body, though in vain, for its s harder than adamant. His Letter to the t Rev. L. Sullivan Ives, Bishop of the Protestant thin the State of North Carolina,' (who undertook of the imaginary sufferings of the slaves,' who ed that 'no man nor set of men in our day, unless produce a new revelation from Heaven, are el to pronounce slavery wrong,' and that 'slaas it exists at the present day, is agreeable to the of Divine Providence,') is a noble specimen of nal reproof, and a most triumphant rejoinder. ly thing that surprises us is, that Judge JAY

Spooners. Seventh Thousand. Boston: Published ly bela Marsh, 25 Cornhill. 1858. pp. 294.

the present Constitution, and who would fain to ale themselves that they can innocently use the the franchise. Its ingenuity and ability indicate

THE LIBERATOR. great powers on the part of its author, and we doubt not he is satisfied as to its soundness. If others choose to occupy the same ground, and can do so conscientious- DEAR GARRISON : ly, let them define their position as unequivocally as he and the other is the nether millstone to grind the Union It is an address from friends of American Negro Emanand the other is the nother influsione to grind the culon to powder. As a specimen of the summary manner in which Mr. Spooner deals with the most formidable (and what we deem wholly insurmountable) difficulties, take the following paragraph:

the following paragraph:

'It is the constant effort of the advocates of slavery, to make the constitutionality of slavery a historical question, instead of a legal one. In pursuance of this design, they are continually citing the opinions, or intentions, of Mr. A, Mr. B, and Mr. C, as handed down to sub ys some history or other; as if the opinions and intentions of these men were to be taken as the opinions and intentions of the whole people of the United States, and as if the irresponsible statements of historians were to be substituted for the Constitution. If the people of this country have ever declared that these fugitive and tiresponsible histories of the intentions and sayings of special with had not Mrs. Stown (who have been special with had not Mrs. Stown (who have been special with had not Mrs. Stown (who have been special with had not Mrs. Stown (who have been special with had not Mrs. Stown (who have been special with had not Mrs. Stown (who have been special with had not Mrs. Stown (who have been special with had not Mrs. Stown (who have been special with had not Mrs. Stown (who have been special with had not Mrs. Stown (who have been special with had not Mrs. Stown (who have been special with had not Mrs. Stown (who have been special with had not Mrs. Stown (who have been special with had not Mrs. Stown (who have been special with had not Mrs. Stown (who have had not many special with had not Mrs. Stown (who have had not many special with had not Mrs. Stown (who have had not many special with had not Mrs. Stown (who have had not many special with had not Mrs. Stown (who have had not many special with had not Mrs. Stown (who have had not many special with had not Mrs. Stown (who have had not many special with had not Mrs. Stown (who have had not many special with had not Mrs. Stown (who have had not many special with had not Mrs. Stown (who have had not many special with had not missing the special with had not many spec

This is positive and defiant, and yet inconclusive. the Constitution is a compact, and the first of the opinions or instead of a legal one.' It is not the opinions of the opinions of the opinions or instead of a legal one.' It is not the opinions of the opinio tentions of Mr. A, Mr. B, and Mr. C, alone, that are cited or relied upon, but the 'opinions and intentions sentative names. Instructions were given carefully to of the whole people of the United States, expressed restrict the names to those who deliberately thought of the whole people of the chites, publicial and po-through all their authorized mediums, judicial and po-litical, ever since the adoption of the instrument, and ratified times, without number; and, therefore, the question is authoritatively settled beyond a reasonable

There is one short and decisive answer to all the They say, in their letter to Greeley, 'We are aware pretence that the slaveholders cannot be presumed to have agreed to the Constitution, if it be inconsistent with slavery; and that is, that if the slaveholders cannot be used to the slaveholders cannot be used not be presumed to have agreed to it, then they, and not the slaves, must be presumed to have been no parties to t, and must therefore be excluded from all rights in it. The slaves can certainly be presumed to have agreed to the slaves can certainly be presumed to have agreed to the slaves can certainly be presumed to have agreed to the slaves can certainly be presumed to have agreed to the slaves can certainly be presumed to have agreed to the slaves can certainly be presumed to the slaves are slaves and that is a suming that "where there's a will, there's a way," the slaves can certainly be presumed to have been unseemly to urge any particular mode of con-It, and must therefore be excluded from all rights in it.

The slares can certainly be presumed to have agreed to it, if it gives them liberty. And the instrument must be presumed to have been made by and for those who could reasonably agree to it. If, therefore, any body can be excluded from all rights in it, on the ground that they cannot be presumed to have agreed to such an intervention to the presumed to have agreed to such an intervention to the resumed to have agreed to such an intervention to the resumed to have agreed to such an intervention to the resumed to have agreed to such an intervention to the resumed to have agreed to such an intervention to the resumed to have been unseemly to urge any particular mode of consisting the such as a second constant to the such as a s they cannot be presumed to have agreed to such an in-strument as it really is, it must be the slaveholders pear in any English paper until despatched to the Hon. strument as it really is, it must be the slaveholders themselves. Independently of this presumption, there is just as much authority, in the Constitution itself, for excluding slaveholders, as for excluding the slaves from all rights in it. And as the slaves are some ten or fifteen times more numerous than the slaveholders, it is ten or fifteen times more important, on legal principles, that they be included among the parties to the constitution, than that the slaveholders should be."

pear in any English paper until despatched to the Hon. Horace Greeley, editor of the New York Tribune; and of the journals of this country, it will be first sent to the Times.

The gentlemen who transmit this Address are the persons who volunteered to circulate it, which they have done among such British Democrats as were accessible to them. I enclose you a copy of the Address are the persons who was a copy of the Address are the persons who volunteered to circulate it, which they have done among such British Democrats as were accessible to them.

On paper, nothing can be easier than to make such declarations, and to talk of executing them; but to at- original to you. tempt their enforcement is something altogether different! It is plain that Mr. Spooner's interpretation of the Constitution is either civil war on the one hand, or a dissolution of the Union on the other. What, therefore, is to be gained by it?

Nevertheless, his work is worth studying. It makes about 300 octavo pages, and is sold for 75 cents-very

AN ADDRESS delivered before the Suffolk District Medical Society, at its Fourth Anniversary Meeting, Bos- FRIEND GARRISON ton, April 20, 1853. By HENRY W. WILLIAMS, M. Boston, 1853.

mark his development and progress, which have been sented resolutions, in substance, that no del since he turned his attention to the medical profession, es, nor should ministers of any such churches be re-but more particularly to the diseases of the eye. Though still a young man, he has evinced an energy in conquer- course, produced a flare up, and the Barrington min noble enthusiasm. To all those who are in any degree

These facts I had from a gentleman, now of New York afficted with ophthalmia, we confidently recommend city, who was present, and was formerly an active Dr. Williams as worthy of consultation; and, in view member of the above Consociation. At a subsequent of the progress he has already made, we are confident session, the resolutions were referred to a Committee, to he is destined to take a high rank among the oculists of report next year. Three of the Committee of five are the age.

THE ANTI-SLAVERY ADVOCATE, for June, has come to hand. This excellent monthly has now reached its ninth number, and has well sustained the high position doings of the Consociation, expressly said (I have it with which it commenced. We have never seen the from one of the Deacons) that he was opposed to cutting anti-slavery periodical which contained so much important and indispensable information, and condensed referred. This is the same church that CHARLES T. have presented. The series of articles, in the successive under the laws of Maryland, in a Baltimore prison, a numbers, on the different American sects, is of much few years subsequent thereto; and whose Committee the proofs of the pro-slavery spirit and doings of those ing, mainly for the purpose of obtaining some assist treacherous bodies. The present number gives a sketch of the American Baptists, among whom it is stated that 220,000 slaves are owned. The real number is splendid church has been built on the same site, with meeting of the British Unitarian Association follows.

There is also a very interesting extract from a work, by lay his head? Are they not meek and lowly of heart? in America. A spirited notice of the annual meeting of the British and Foreign Anti-Slavery Society may be called the leading article of the number. We have ANTI-SLAVERY CAMPAIGN AT THE WEST named but a portion of the contents. The whole number is a valuable one, and highly creditable to the good judgment, as well as the noble zeal, of our transatlan- FRIEND MAY : tic fellow-laborers.

THE SHEKINAH; Monthly. Devoted to the Emancipa-Broadway. Vol. III. No. 1. May, 1853.

riodical, full of curious and entertaining matter. The every thing is crusted over with a premature conservapresent number has a life-like portrait of Andrew Jack-tism. There the truth will not be so likely to be choked son Davis, and a graphic sketch of his life.

LOVE, MARRIAGE, AND DIVORCE, AND THE SOVEREIGNTY withered up by the simoon breath of old Mammon

A Donge. In the Constitutional Convention of this State, last weck-

deserving a careful perusal.

Mr. Oliver, of Lawrence, from the Committee on the Militia, to which was referred the petition of John P.
Coburn and others, praying 'that the law may be sof
modified that no able-bodied male citizen may be forbid
den or prevented from serving or holding office or commay thing that surprises us is, that Judge JAT den or prevented from serving or holding office or commission in the Militia on account of color,' reported that the Massachusetts any provision which shall conflict with the laws of the United States, and cannot therefore act in accordance with the request of the petitioners.

A QUESTION FOR PROF. STOWE.

In The Liberator of June 10th appears an extract from a speech delivered at Exeter IIall by Professor Stowe, in the course of which he says, 'Americans contemplated by the laws of the United States,—and as this known. Seventh Thousand. Boston: Published by the laws of the United States,—and as this system authorizes the commander-in-chief, or the mayor and aldermen of any city, or the selectmen of any two, to grant petitions for raising companies at large, provided the whole number of these companies shall not exceed twenty, and as no deference is in this proving the treatment of the whole subject to be within the control and authority of the officers just named. The Committee believe the whole subject to be within the control and authority of the officers just named. The Committee of the United States, possessing funds enough to buy a story of the officers just named. The Committee of the United States are of very little cotton themselves, and rice and saths this knie. It is the text-book of all those who whole subject to be within the control and authority of the officers just named. The Committee of the United States, possessing funds enough to buy a story of the officers just named. The Committee of the United States, and cannot therefore, conclude that it is inexpediented to act upon the petitioner.

The petition was referred to the Committee of the of being in error. Whole, and ordered to be printed.

An Address has been signed, on behalf of the Demohas done, and we shall be content. Between the proslavery and the anti-slavery interpretation of the Constitution, there is no middle ground. One is the upper that conveys this to you, forwarded to Horace Greeley.

subject of American slavery, it has been thought by

this country have ever decired that these tugitive and itself,) and probably this Address would not have over desired by the savings of single individuals here and there, shall constitute the constitutional law of the country, be it eo; but let us be consistent, burn the Constitution, and depend entirely dentally observed that these expressions of opinion upon history. It is nothing but folly, and fraud, and perjury, to pretend to maintain, and swear to support, the Constitution, and at the same time get our constitution, and at the same time get our constitutional law from these irresponsible sources.' has been this. A copy of the Address has been sent to This is positive and demant, and 'the constitutional- turnable within one week, with a request to the person unmitigated. The Address expresses less indignation doubt.

Here, too, is another mode of disposing of a troublesome 'pretence,' which is equally curious and decilike which may be of real use against the evil sought to

be abolished. They say, in their letter to Greeley, ' We are aware

cessible to them. I enclose you a copy of the Address. Mr. Greeley has been requested to forward the

Wm. Lloyd Garris

[The Address referred to, in the letter of ou London correspondent, may be found in a preceding column. We shall soon see what its treatment will be at the hands of American democrats.]-ED. LIB.

RHODE ISLAND CONSOCIATION PROVIDENCE, June 20, 1853.

Last week, there was an annual meeting of the Rhode D., M. M. S. S. Printed by request of the Society. Island Consociation of Congregational clergymen, holden in Barrington, R. I. On the first day of its session. A personal acquaintance of long standing with the Samuel Wolcott, of this city, (who delivered the Annuauthor of this well-written Address, has enabled us to al Sermon before your Legislature last January,) pre highly gratifying and remarkably successful, especially should be sent to or received from slaveholding churching difficulties, a perseverance in the accomplishment ister declared that he would rather have his right arm of his purpose, and an ability to grapple with the cut off, than that such a resolution should be enterena of professional experience and observation, tained by that body. After a short discussion, they

said to be decidedly opposed to such action. The other wo (Wolcott and Conk)

n so small a space, as these numbers of the Advocate Torrey preached to one year, and who was murdered value, though room is wanting to present the half of refused the use of their vestry to hold a sympathy meetprobably much larger. There is a notice of the Soci- two towers, an organ-cost \$2300-and other splendid ety of Friends in Indiana. A brief one on the annual fixtures, at a cost of \$40,000. Are they not followers the historian James Grahame, on the Origin of Stavery Are they not those of whom the world is not worthy S. W. W.

Extract from a Letter to the General Agent.

MARSHFIELD, June 17, 1853.

I hope you will be able to send out a large corps of lecturers into the field, when the proper time comes. The Shekinah; Monthly. Devoted to the Emancipation of Mind; the Elucidation of Vital, Mental, and Spiritual Phenomena, and the Progress of Man. Conducted by Brittan and Partridge, New York, 300 Broadway, Vol. III. No. 1. May 1853. nies. There is, comparatively, a virgin soil there. This is a handsomely printed and ably conducted pe- Seed is more easily planted there than here, where by the poisonous weeds of a spurious religion, nor OF THE INDIVIDUAL. A Discussion by Henry James, Now is the time to work. Society is fluid there. Horace Greeley, and Stephen Pearl Andrews: In- It is dry, hard, almost impervious here. The only cluding the Final Replies of Mr. Andrews, rejected prayer which seems to be made with any sincerity by the Tribune. Edited by Stephen Pearl Andrews. New England, is, 'O, God, give me money!' While New York : Stringer & Townshend, Publishers. 1853. that is the absorbing idea, there will be little room in A pamphlet on a grave and world-wide question, and the heart for sentiments of humanity, or in the conscience for the demands of justice. In such a state, we need not be surprised that Thomas Sims is kidnapped in Boston, or that Dr. Dewey is willing to send his mother into slavery to save the Union. But let us hope that the morning of a better day is dawning, and that the night of slavery will ere long fade away before the sun-

N. H. WHITING.

GEORGE W. SIMONDS.

VALLEY FALLS, 5th mo., 18th, 1858.

Valley Falis, 5th mo., 18th, 1853.

Friend Garrison:
I wish to say a few words, through The Linerator, to the friends of reform, the supporters of trath and right, in those towns and villages where they have an influence in making arrangements for Lyceum lectures, as the season for such arrangements will soon come round.

We had the pleasure, last week, of listening to Parker Pilisbury's lecture on the French Revolution, and were deeply impressed with its interesting character, and its importance as an instrumentality for the

and were deeply impressed with its interesting character, and its importance as an instrumentality for the advancement of truth and progress. The new and better and evidently truer views of the causes and character of that renowned crisis in the affairs of France, especially when presented in the strongly convincing style of the author, and substantiated by historical evidence, are calculated to impress all hearers as sound and rational, at the same time that they show conclusively the inevitable results of corrupt and oppressive government. It is a production which cost much labor and research, and to those who know Parker Pillsburg, I need not say its style is one of great power and impressiveness.

I also feel impelled, in this connection, to add, that, two years ago, we were favored with a lecture, on Education, by Charles C. Burleion, which, in eloquence,

ucation, by CHARLES C. BURLEIGH, which, in eloquence, comprehensiveness and sound philosophy, far surpassed any spoken or written discourse, on this subject, with which I have ever been acquainted.

that the several donors, for the writer's relief, may know that their gift has safely reached him. We have also to acknowledge the further receipt of One Dollar for D. Brown, from A. M. T., Portland, Me. :-

FOUR MILE CREEK, Canada, June 3, 1853. My Respected Friend-To-day I received your kind lars. [Seven dollars had been previously sent and acknowledged 1 I am truly glad that it has come safely. It is a very great favor in time of trouble. My heart swells with gratitude towards my heavenly Father, and of life, and anxious to start right and understand their towards my kind Boston friends, for the timely aid they course, will find this JOURNAL a friend and monitor, to have afforded us in the days of deep distress. My health continues to improve, and my wife is much better. I can now get her such necessaries as her state of health requires. Oh, may God hasten the time when the voice of the slave will not be heard in the land—the time when all men shall be free. I do believe the faithful prayers of the oppressed will be heard in heaven, and God will avenge his own.

Remember me with sincere thankfulness to the friend

Yours, most respectfully. DAVID BROWN.

VICTIMIZED. The editor of the Nashua Telegraph

'A fellow, calling himself Charles Bryant, called or us on Monday last,—said he was a member of the Mer-cantile Library Association in Boston,—had been of with Pratt's Panorama to California—was 'dead broke,' with Pratt's Panorama to California—was 'dead broke,' and wanted money enough to get home. We were just fool enough to buy him a ticket—(not quite enough to give him the money)—and send him along, with a promise to remit the next day. It is needless to say, perhaps, that we have not received it yet. He made very free use of the names of the editors of the Transcript, Post, Mail, Times, &c. Can any one of them enlighten us in regard to their friend?'

We have no 'friend' answering to the above name and description. We incline to the opinion, however, that the same Diddler recently swindled parties in New York by the same story he told in Nashua, although the victimized party in that city decline to furnish the particulars of the transaction; but he evidently made a richer haul than he did in Nashua.

No person by the name above given is connected with the Mercantile Library Association of this city.—Boston Transcript. We have no 'friend' answering to the above name

Happening to be in New York last fall, we were ecosted by this same swindler, who told us the same the Liberator-and represented that he was anxious to Hyannis ... leave for Boston that afternoon, but lacked \$1.50 to enable him to reach home. We gave him the money, be held at NORTH DENNIS, at which PARKER PILLS-(not without strong suspicions that he was an imyet thinking it possible his story might be strictly true,) which he promised to return as soon as he could get to We have heard nothing of him since till now

RUMORED SLAVE INSURRECTION.

NEW ORLEANS, June 14. siderable excitement was caused here to-day, by rumors of an intended rising of the slaves in this city. Information was given to the police at a late hour last night by a free negro, who pointed out the ringleader. The latter, when arrested, was found heavily armed. He confessed that a band of 2500 well-organized negroes He confessed that a band of 2500 well-organized negroes had matured a plan to attack the city next day in several points at once, including the powder magazine, the mint, and the principal banks. The city was then to be set on fire as a signal to the surrounding country to join set on fire as a signal to the surrounding country to join at HOPKINTON, Hayden Row, on Sunday next, June 26, at usual hours. And on Sunday, July 3d, at

New ORLEANS, 15th June.

The Threatened Risho or Negross in New Orleans,—The story about the intended rising of the negroes is understood to have been greatly exaggerated, and the excitement has subsided.

Several affidavits were made last night against an Englishman named Dyson, in regard to the recent insurrectionary attempt. Dyson for a year past has been teaching a school of negro children. He was accused about two-years ago of harboring a negro criminal, and was imprisoned for several months. He then displayed great acuteness and legal knowledge in defending himself. The present affidavits are strong against him as the sole planner and instigator of the recent attempt. The examination has been fixed for Wednesday next, the 22d inst.—meantime Dyson remains in prison. If the offence is proved against him, the penalty will be very severo,—probably death.

COLORED NATIONAL CONVENTION.

A Call for a National Convention of the People of Color, to meet at Rochester, N. Y., on the 6th of July, has been issued by prominent and well-known Colored men in New England and the Middle and Western States. The object is a free mutual conference upon their present condition, and the wisest means to be adopted for their welfare and improvement.

The Call is signed by Rev. Dr. Pennington, Dr. J. McCune Smith, Frederick Douglass, Wm. H. Topp, Geo. T. Downing, W. H. Day, Prof. C. L. Reason, C. L. Remond, and twenty-five or thirty leading colored men.

Imprisonment of Colored Seamen.—We learn that the case of Reuben Roberts against Sheriff Yates, or rather, of Great Britain against South Carolina, which started off so grandiosely, has come to a very 'lame and impotent conclusion.' Orders have been received through the British Minister, that further proceedings in the case be discontinued, and that their counsel be paid off and discharged. It is presumed that the British Government became convinced that, whatever might be the decision of the case before the Supreme Court, they could only gain a loss by it; and the greater loss in the event of their winning the suit,—inasmuch as it would most certainly have been followed, not by the abrogation of the law of South Carolina, but by that of the reciprocity treaty, on which their complaint was founded.—Charleston Courier.

This announcement of the Courier may be true,

Slare Trade in Cuba.—Notwithstanding all the precautionary measures of the English and American governments to suppress the slave trade, about three thousand slaves from the coast of Africa were landed near Havana, between the 27th of May and the 7th of June. The Lady Suffolk sailed from Africa with a cargo of 1300, and lost 300 on the voyage! She went ashore on a Key, near Saga la Grande, landed her slaves, and sold them for about seven doublooms each. Three other vessels have landed cargoes, respectively of 900, 600 and 500. One landed at Sierra Morena, another at Pinal del Rio, and one at or near Mariel.

Treedom for all men.

Price, 25 ets. per year, single copies; five copies to maddress for \$1.00; or \$12.00 by the hundred, per year. Postage in New York State, six cents per year—slewhere, 12 cents. But in packages of 24 or more, the postage in New York State, six cents per year—slewhere, 12 cents. But in packages of 24 or more, the postage in New York State, six cents per year. Specimen number, free of charge, sent on application at the office of publication.

LUCIUS C. MATLACK,

Editor and Publisher,

60 South st., Syracuse.

TERRIFIC EXPLOSION.

SUSQUEBANNA, June 17, 74 A. M. The boiler of engine No. 58, which was pushing reight train up a grade, when about half a mile east

FIRE AT CAMBRIDGEPORT-GREAT LOSS OF PROPERTY On Sunday afternoon last, a fire broke out in Cambridgeport, near the bridge, which destroyed the Cambridgeport Hotel, kept by Thomas Pike, the Bridge Howith which I have ever been acquainted.

When the people learn their true interests, and seek only the advancement of right and truth, for the real good of mankind, such men as the writers of these lectures will be sought, as teachers, in the popular institutions, though now they are 'despised and rejected.'

E. B. C.

LETTER FROM DAVID BROWN, IN CANADA.

THE ILLUSTRATED AMERICAN PHRENOLOGICAL JOUR-AL. Devoted to Phrenology, Physiology, Mechan Education, Agriculture, the Natural Sciences, and General Intelligence, profusely illustrated with Engravings. Every family, and especially all young men and women. should have a copy. Published monthly, at One Doletter, dated May 21st, containing the sum of ten dol- lar a year. All letters should be post-paid, and direct-FOWLERS AND WELLS, Clinton Hall, No. 131 Nassau street, New York.

> Young men about launching forth upon the activities propage them to virtue, shield them from vice, and to prepare them for usefulness and success in life. The various occupations will be discussed in the light of Phrenology and Physiology, so that every one may know in what pursuit he would be most likely to succeed .- PUBLISHERS.

THE LIBERATOR, this week, will richly repay careful perusal. In addition to the masterly speech of Mr. PHILLIPS, (to which we ask special attention,) some valuable communications may be found on our last page. Also, a beautiful poetic tribute to ELIZABETH B. BROWNING, from the pen of SARAH H. WHITMAN, of Pro-

ESSEX COUNTY-ATTENTION! The annual meeting of the Essex County Anti-Slavery Society will be held in Lynn, on Saturday and Sanday, June 25th and 26th, agreeably to adjournment, commencing Saturday evening, 7½ o'clock. A full attendance of the friends of the slave is carnestly solicited. WILLIAN LEOYD GARRISON and other speakers will be present. CHARLES LENOX REMOND, President. THE GIANT CRIME. Elder ANDREW T. Foss

a clergyman of the Baptist denomination, will speak on the subject of American Slavery, in Providence, R. I., in Amiry Hall, entrance No. 12 Eddy street, on Sunday next, June 26, at 10 o'clock, A. M., 24, P. M., and at precisely 7½ o'clock in the evening. A collection will be taken up for expenses. The public are in-

PARKER PILLSBURY, an Agent of the Mass Anti-Slavery Society, will speak as index. June 26. Harwich Sunday July 3.

SALLIE HOLLEY, an Agent of the Mass. Anti-Slavery Society, will lecture as follows:— Littleton, N. H......Sunday, June 26

NOTICE. The Worcester County (North Divi sion) Anti-Slavery Society will hold a meeting at EAST PRINCETON, on Sunday, June 26, commencing at 10 o'clock, A. M SAMUEL MAY, Jr., and GILES B. STEEBINS, are ex-

SUMNER LINCOLN, President.

26, at usual hours. And on Sunday, SOUTH MILFORD, in the Baptist hous

'PROGRESSIVE FRIENDS'

THE Proceedings, in pamphlet form, of the Pennsylvania Yearly Meeting of Progressive Friends, recently held at Old Kennett, embracing the Minutes, the cently held at Old Kennett, embracing the Minutes, the Exposition of Sentiments, the Testimonies on Intemperance, Slavery, War, Tobacco, &c., and the Letters addressed to the body by William Lloyd Garrison, Theodore Parker, T. W. Higginson, Cassius M. Clay, and others, are for sale at the Anti-Slavery Office, 21 Cornhill. Price, 10 cents single; \$1 per dozen.

The avails will be expended in the gratuitous circulation of the 'Exposition of Sentiments,' which has been stereotyped for that purpose. Send in your orders before the edition is exhausted.

THE JUVENILE INSTRUCTOR. A semi-monthly Paper, expressly for Children.

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ored.) by the authorities of South Carolina, was to be brought before the House on an early occasion.

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8. ROGERS, M. D. Week. June 24, 1853.

POETRY.

For the Liberator.

TO ELIZABETH BARRETT BROWNING. O perpetui fiori
Dell'eterna letizia!' IL PARADISO.

Fair Sybil, sitting in thy 'House of Clouds,' Shrined like some solitary star above
The dull, cold shadow that our earth enshrouds, How oft my spirit looks to thee in love ! To thy 'Lost Bower' how oft, in dreams returning. I see thee standing in the sylvan room-See the red sun-light in the rose-cups burning, And the sweet blue-bells nodding through the gloom Again I hear thy grand and solemn dirges To the dim 'Gods of Hellas,' like the breeze O'er low savannahs sighing, or the surges That wash the sands of solitary seas : Then, in calm waves of glory, swells the strain, Christ from the dead hath risen, and shall reign !

'Ad una vista
D'un gran palazzo Michol ammirava
Si come donna dispettosa e trista.'
IL PURGATORIO.

Sometimes I see thee pale with scorn and sorrow, At the great palace window, looking forth, To-day on plumed Florentines-to-morrow Upon the stern battalions of the North : Sometimes o'er little children bending lowly, To hear their cry, in the dark factories drowned Ah, then, thy pitying brow grows sweet and holy With a saint's aureole of anguish crowned ! But most I love thee when that mystic glory-Kindling at horrors that abhor the day-Sheds a wild, stormy splendor o'er the story Of the dark fugitive who turned away

To Death's cold threshold, calm in Death's disdain, From the 'White Pilgrim's Rock' beside the west

Or discendiamo omai a maggior pieta.'

TII. Ay, most I love thee when thy starry song Stoops to the plague-spot that we dare not name, And bares with burning breath th' envenomed wrong Our country's dark inheritance of shame. When our blaspheming synods look thereon, (Stifling God's law and Nature's noble ires With the cold ashes of dead council-fires,) That Gorgan Terror chills them into stone Yet, while they dream, another noble heart, Serene in Love's great light and woman's ruth-A woman loyal to God's living truth-Hath uttered calm, clear words, whose rays shall dart Like sunbeams through our realm's tartarean gloom Till love's own holy light its stygian depths illume.

SARAH HELEN WHITMAN. PROVIDENCE, R. I., 1853.

From the New York Weekly Tribune. EXCELSIOR. Still higher-higher evermore

Let us ascend-The path of Truth, like God's own years, Shall know no end.

And ever rise new wonders in The light of Truth, Her true disciples evermore Renew their youth.

Still onward, upward toward the light True heroes rise; While 'neath their feet the dark domain

Of Error lies. Still upward-let no fetters bind Thy soul to earth;

In Truth's pursuit thy soul shall find True joys have birth. Still upward, as the eagle flies To meet the sun,

Let us advance to meet the great Eternal One. In Truth's pursuit, O man, be strong.

Though fools deride : Within thy heart forever more Shall Peace abide.

's willing slav To kiss the sod ; Be thou a man, and scorn to kneel

Beneath her rod. Heed not Tradition's fables, brought

From ancient days, Though 'neath Religion's guise, and crowned With sacred rays. Shun Prejudice: no light or good

Her presence brings; Ill-omened forms and shadows brood Beneath her wings Tradition, Custom, Prejudice,

These three abide-Oppression, Wrong, and Fear, beneath Their shadows hide.

Rise thou above them ; bid thy soul Spring forth to light, As springs the tender plant from earth To cheer the sight.

As sunlight calls the living shoot From out the earth. E'en so beneath the light of Truth

The soul has birth. And as the forests deep and wide

Spring from a seed, Es shall thy soul advance, O man, From Error freed!

Then higher, higher, evermore, Let us ascend ; The path of Truth, like God's own years, Shall know no end ! EAST WEARE, N. H., April, 1853. H. C. D.

'A MAN OF HIS WORD.

You may sing of the heroes of yore, You may speak of the deeds they have done, Of the foes they have slain by the score, Of the glorious battles they've won : You may seek to eternize their fame, And it may be with goodly success-But it is not the warrior's name That this heart and this spirit would bless; Though oft at their mention my soul hath been stirred Yet dearer to me is the man of his word.

You may speak of the great ones of earth, Of prelates, of princes, and kings ; I doubt not there's something of worth In the bosom of all human things: But dearer to me than the whole Of pageantry, splendor and pride, Is the man with a frank, honest soul, Who never his word hath belied; Yes, prized above all that this earth can afford, Though lowly and poor, is the man of his word.

THE TELEGRAPH

Rev. John Pierpont, writing upon the Telegraph, concludes thus :-

A hero chieftain laying down his pen, Closes his eyes in Washington at ten : The lightning courier leaps along the line And at St. Louis tells the tale at nine, Halting a thousand miles whence he departed And getting there an hour before he started

THE LIBERATOR.

JUSTICE AND LOVE VERSUS MERCY.

It is of the very highest consequence to us to recognize and reverence infinite perfection in the Deity, which of course implies unlimited excellence in each of his characteristics and attributes. One of these unlimited and unvarying perfec tions must be justice, to which also many passage

of scripture agree, saying, in various forms of expression, that God is just, and that he will render to every man according to his works. In the imperfection of human speech and action

it is deemed praiseworthy for a magistrate some times to substitute mercy for justice. But in every such case, careful scrutiny will show that the word justice is loosely and improperly used, and that through time and eternity. Sin, in this world or the treatment called mercy really comes nearest to true justice.

But under the divine government, justice, being perfect, is not less excellent than truth or love, and never needs to give way to any other infinite perfection.

No one part of infinite perfection can possibly ever interfere or conflict with another. Our idea of God ceases to be perfect when any

thing is diminished from his ideal justice. The government of God would cease to be feet, if it failed of being perfectly just to each in-

dividual, in practice. Mercy is 'favor to one who deserves punishment, or not rendering to a man according to his works. Being thus a deviation from strict justice, of course

it cannot belong to a perfect God. What then happens? That the perfect God is unkind, cold, selfish, hard-hearted? By no means! God is love.

But perfect love includes nothing, either in idea or in fact, inconsistent with perfect justice. Each pursues its entire course, and has its full operations in the divine mind and government, without the slightest conflict. God is, and must necessarily be, always loving and always just to every creature he has made.

But here the selfish thought creeps in-What will be the consequence to me, a sinner, if God strict- plies, every heart which recognizes, influencing and ly renders to every man according to his works?

Preoccupied by the hereditary idea, that the still, small voice, continued aspiration towards church and the clergy are true representatives of Right and Truth, the same stupendous power which Christianity, and thus also by a passive assent to sits on the circle of the universe, must feel the their constantly reiterated assumption, that 'an calm assurance of the beleaguered prophet-' They offence against an infinite being deserves an infinite that be with us are more than they that be with punishment,' the inquirer shrinks from the supthem.' The purpose of God, inspired by love, will posed results of amapplication of strict justice to not, cannot fail; the glory of God, fruit of the himself, and is now easily induced to believe this harmonious cooperation of love and justice, will be second false assumption of the popular faith, name- wrought out and manifested in the ultimate welly, that, by inflicting on an innocent person, with fare of every creature he has made; and every imhis own consent, a certain amount of undeserved mortal among those countless souls (no Cain, nor suffering, God can remain just, without rendering to Judas, nor Nero, nor Curtis left out) will assuredevery man according to his works.

When the unreasonableness of this dogma is urged, the clergy prudently remove it from the has led it, by a wise and beneficent discipline, province and the scrutiny of reason, by saying-It through holiness to happiness. is a mystery! We must expect that the plans of God will transcend the comprehension of men. Here they confound together two very different

That which transcends reason, by being above its scope and grasp, is a mystery; and there are many such in the religious department of life, as well a

in every other. That which is plainly distinguished to be oppo to reason is not a mystery, but a falsehood

The assertions that two and two make five. that two equally infallible popes can make contradictory decrees, are not beyond the province of the resources of infinite power, wisdom and love reason, but are clearly distinguished by it to be

Is it any less manifestly false to say, first, that justice is the rendering to every man according to his works, and next, that God can be just, without rendering to every man according to his works?

Whatever becomes of you and of me, poor sinners that we are, God is, must be, and ever will be, perfectly just. But do not let us assume too hasti- loses nothing by the amputation of a leg or an ly, that justice in him involves utter and everlast- arm; no more does it lose by the amputation of either to her or to you, and need never be thought you then had, and see what you and your friends ing ruin to us. Let us examine the matter by the the whole body. It is, doub aid of that much maligned reason which He has for a soul to choose evil instead of good, whether given us.

as well as in all other perfections, (I take these the latter is, of course, as free to renounce evil and things for granted, as the most natural and probanecessarily results from the perfection of God.

On the other hand, man possesses a certain mount of freedom, and chooses to use it, more or less, for vicious purposes.

Now our question is, How is the sin which we find existing in ourselves and others to be disposed of, without infringement on the justice of God, on one hand, or his love, on the other !

God has, by various modes and channels, announced to us, as the moral law of his intelligent universe, that the practice of right is not only commendable but beneficial, and the practice of wrong not only vicious but injurious to the doer thereof, and to those around him.

The administration of justice is the fulfilment of this law, or, in other words, 'the practice of rendering to every man his due.' Justice is, then, a practical demonstration, in

the extended experience of each person, that wherein he has done wrong, he has acted unwisely for himself, as well as unjustly towards others. Let us assist ourselves in this examination, by

looking at the analogy afforded by the material Heat and cold, beyond certain limits, are destruc

and are limited to the natural consequences of in- ly not the purpose of the Creator,) we must inquire administration of justice to the body.

Is it not highly reasonable, and altogether probable, that God's administration of justice to the soul periments, either of which might have poisoned human history is so ordered that, in the extended and we all do well to enlarge our knowledge experience of the soul, it shall inevitably suffer the things unknown, taking the same risk. This, be it tural ill-consequences of vice, and thus have a observed, is a very different thing from choosing warning and stimulus to break off from vice! The and taking that which is already known to be evil. supposition has certainly this advantage, that it Whoever does this, takes the responsibility of sin, shows the divine justice in constant and harmoni- as well as the risk of error. ous cooperation with the divine love, both always But it is found that men very frequently take acting, and both alike acting, for the welfare, not this responsibility, doing that which they already only of man, the race, but of every individual man. know to be wrong. And here the question recurs,

enstant as those which control material nature. This, also, is a necessary inference from the perfection of God. We may, therefore, state both in one formula, thus :- No violation of the natural. moral or spiritual laws ever did or ever will fail of its appropriate retribution.

But if this be true, what place is left for mercy There is actually no place for it, under a just and righteous government. But perhaps we shall see that it is not needed, and that something better ccupies its place.

The 'appropriate retribution' for an offence is the suffering or privation which naturally follows it, and thus deters from the repetition of it. This retribution we suppose the Deity invariably to exact, through his whole empire of space, and any other, must and will injure the sinner, whose enlarged experience more and more emphatically teaches him that his real welfare is to be found only in righteousness.

What is called retribution among men has usually another feature, namely, the infliction of som factitious suffering upon the wrong-doer, to gratify the spite of the injured party. This can, of course have no counterpart in the divine government While men are yet sinners, God loves them. This is a necessary result of his infinite excellence

We may now profitably inquire what is the re sult, on the large scale, of this exact, unvarying system of retribution. It has been stated above, as a necessary result o

the infinite perfection of God, that he must have made man exactly as he wished to make him, and in such a way that the purpose of his creation should be certainly and fully accomplished, without the possibility of defeat, either from without

The existence of numerous and dreadful evils in the world, of many and aggravated sins in the hearts and lives of men, does not authorize us to despair of the ultimate and universal triumph of good. It is an unjustifiable weakness to yield to such a feeling. Every believer in GOD, every person capable of reflecting what infinite perfection iminspiring its own inner life, and whispering, in a ly, at some period of its existence, join the universal chorus of thanksgiving and praise to Him who

But, meantime, man abuses his freedom by re

petition of error and indulgence in sin. So much the worse for him. Every step of that error must be retraced, every sinful thought and desire must be intelligently distinguished as evil. and deliberately renounced. Man is free, and can sin, as long through the ages of eternity as he chooses to endure the continuous and cumulative suffering which necessarily attends sin; but, extending equally into eternity, with good superior to his evil, with patience outlasting his perversity, with tenderness unconquered by his provocations. surround him every moment, act upon him through every channel, persevere through every obstruction and delay, and must, as surely as infinite exceeds finite, sooner or later gain the victory.

But it will be said-Men die impenitent This is a mistake. We have already assumed that man is immortal. The body dies, but the soul,

in or out of the body; but the loss of the body God-being infinite in power, wisdom and love, takes away none of the powers of the soul, and choose good after the death of the body as before

ble of all suppositions,)-must have made man it. God has lost nothing, either of his power, exactly as he wished to make him, and in such a wisdom or love, by the death of man's body. The way that the purpose of his creation should be cer-soul is, must be, just as much an object of his tentainly and fully accomplished, without the possibility of defeat, either by the perversity of man himself, or the interference of any third power. This This death then, instead of being the chief crisis and catastrophe of the soul's life, is merely an accident or circumstance in its history; or, more properly speaking, a friendly usher to conduct the soul to some higher discipline, and greater facilities for improvement in the next stage of existence. But if the soul has chosen evil instead of good on this side the grave, why not beyond it, and eternally?

To answer this objection, we must recur to some

of the ground already passed over. God made man just as he pleased, and he pleased to make him, to a certain extent, free. He did not wish for machines, which should always go right by necessity or compulsion, but for intelligent be ings, who, after having had the chance to try, and after having actually tried, both good and evil, should ultimately choose and prefer the good. We are in the midst, or rather near the beginning, of this experiment. Will any one dare to say that the experiment has failed, or will fail, because he to whom a thousand years are as one day, has spent six thousand years out of his eternity upon this work, without bringing it to a conclusion !

As every young child falls a great many times tive to the human frame. Since man is occasional- before it learns to walk, as God has so constituted ly exposed to the destructive extremes of both these him that he can learn this necessary art only after agents, the beneficence of the Creator has provided repeated trials, most of which are temporary various warnings by which he is admonished to use failures; so in the moral world we must learn, and increased means of protection. First, the sensa- God has evidently designed us to learn, by numertions of the parts exposed announce them to be in ous and oft-repeated experiments; many of these danger. Then, if this be disregarded, disorganiza- experiments seem to be failures, because they show tion of the extreme or superficial parts follows, that we have taken the wrong track, and yet, being with protracted suffering in the cure and loss of the assured by the very failure that this is the wrong subsequent use of the disorganized parts. Noth- track, we are brought nearer the knowledge of the ing can be plainer than that the pain and privation right. The fruit of the tree of knowledge of good thus produced are designed, and adapted, to promote and evil, that is, experience of things hitherto unthe welfare of man. They are carried just far known, is not a forbidden fruit. Unless we would enough to answer the purpose of efficient warning, remain in ignorance all our lives, (which is certainfringement of the natural laws. This is God's examine, pluck and taste of the yet untried fruits around us. Some one originally learned that corn and apples were good for food by making two exis conducted on the same principles, and that him. He did well to try, taking the risk of injury,

It is quite safe to assume, that the moral and spiritual worlds are governed by laws as exact and exist, and the sinners of past ages and the present ingly large room was engaged in London by a large go on sinning, and consequently suffering, to all section of the dissenting ministers, and the Rev. eternity !

of sin and suffering, -one drawn from the nature the room was, for six successive nights, for six

he must have made mankind, the whole and each went away who could not gain admittance. So part, for their welfare as well as for his own glory; extensive was the feeling, that, on a given Sunday, that he must have foreseen, before the creation, that evening, the ministers of twenty-six chapels enthe amount of freedom allowed to man would not gaged in lecturing upon the discussion. That dis-ultimately interfere with this result; and, finally, cussion has since been printed verbatim, and many that his infinite powers and resources must ac-complish, sooner or later in the ages of eternity, shillings, which is largely beyond the means, genthe very best possible result for man, without be- erally speaking, of the operatives here in England.

posite feelings, that-in the light of an experience Origen Batchelor. I do not enter into the discusly into eternity, that sin necessarily produces suf- sufficient interest to read it; but I name it as evfering, and that virtue necessarily tends to happi- idence of the progress of free discussion in this ness,-he must, sooner or later, give up the contest country, and of the advantage of it, too; for Mr. as hopeless, shun suffering by reformation, and Holyoake, since he has been at liberty to prop-seek virtue as the only means of happiness. The agate his opinions, has so far departed from man who voluntarily sins expects advantage from them as to adopt the new name of Secularist, so doing. This shows him ignorant. However and to seek to sustain his advocacy of the duties vicious he may be, that expectation shows him ig- of this life, and to show that men have dunorant also. An enlarged experience, indefinitely ties, notwithstanding they reject the admission prolonged into the ages of eternity, and always of the existence of God. Having taken this one with the same result, must ultimately induce any step forward from his dread negation, I do not reasonable being to turn away from misery, and doubt that he will be made to go onwards into towards the only source of happiness.

It results from his infinite perfection that he must opinions. do so, and that he will rejoice to do so. It must I met an American gentleman the other day, always remain, no less than at present, more honor- and our conversation turned on slavery. He is a able and more pleasing to the Universal Father to merchant now resident here, who has travelled reclaim a sinner than to damn him.

which this man, and you and I, committed before would die out; considered it a curse upon the regeneration? How are they to be atoned for, or States; thought the abolitionists were fanatical,

yesterday, how is it to be satisfied, or what is to that I thought the plan might be termed a scheme be done about it? The answer in both cases is, for raising the price of slaves and encouraging It is past and gone; nothing is to be done about it, slave-breeding in the United States. In reviewing and you have nothing more to do with it. If the our conversation, I remembered his evident indisold things have passed away, and you have posses- position to follow up the argument; his remarks sion of the new, why should you be spending your upon the state of society in other countries, Rustime and straining your eyes to see where the old sia, for instance; and that those remarks were

lie. Finding that she had grieved you and all her The Liberian scheme eases the conscience of many friends, and feeling reproach from her own con- who are slightly uneasy, and who, by joining it, science, after suffering in silence for three days, think they are doing something in aid of the she came to you and humbly acknowledged her right. fault, promising to try to do better. A week after, How many are the combinations we can form peated the offence, and, shortly after, the repen- on the greater number of men and women who extance and acknowledgment. But she then per- ist, how various their faculties, powers and feelceived that on doubtful occasions her word was no ings, and the influence of circumstances, also, ever self suspected, and felt that she deserved suspi-poet or the metaphysician-from the idiot to the cion. She saw the folly of lying, and that she was astronomer-and see how infinite are the shades a loser instead of a gainer by it. She felt also its of thought, feeling and impulse, we have cause to wickedness, and that it took away her own peace wonder, when we look back for half a century, at of mind, and the comfort of her friends. She the steady progress which society has made. Evfor a time, the object of suspicion and reproach, God to his creatures. To reveal is to make known. she bore both patiently, proved, as new trials arose, The word is generic, though it is usually applied that she was able to withstand temptation, regain- to a specific mode of communicating knowledge by ed, more firmly than ever, the confidence of her God to his creatures. No man, we are taught, has friends, and for the last nine months has been a seen God at any time. No man, it is said, shall pattern of perfect truthfulness. Now, I ask, What see his face and live. But, through science, the is to become of those two lies! How are they to finite may infer, within the compass of his powers, be atoned for, and what is to be done about them? but cannot comprehend, the infinite.

I reply, It would be a violation equally of jus- Look back now at the time and the circumstar tice and of love for you to address to your honest, ces under which you were made, on the subject of which is the man, remains the same. The soul truthful little girl a word of reproach for those slavery, to cast your bread on the waters, and to old, obsolete falsehoods. They are nothing now, resolve to be heard. Look at the few appliances of again by anybo

So it is of all past, forsaken sin. When right- tion of slavery a world-wide question. You and cousness has replaced it in the living, present chathey prepared society to receive and feel HARRIET racter, it may pass into oblivion. No being in the BEECHER STOWE'S 'Uncle Tom's Cabin.' The universe needs ever to think of it again.

righteousness in the present, and for the future. it could not have been fired; and to you and to With the past we have nothing to do, except to let them, and especially to those of the martyr age, its experience guide us. "

FROM OUR LONDON CORRESPONDENT. LONDON, Old England, May 20th, 1853.

You will see by our papers how HARRIET BEECH-ER STOWE and Professor Stowe have been received and welcomed here, and that on several occasions, the Professor has addressed our assemblies on the means which exist for putting down slavery. For all she has done and he has done, of course I feel, as the abolition world in general feel, grateful to them, as instruments, and important instruments, in carrying forward that great and good cause. But with my views of religion, and especially of the Christian religion, it grieves me to see, as you will see, by the Nonconformist, which I post to you this day, that, standing for the moment, as he did stand, in a position of peculiar prominence and influence, at an important meeting of the Peace Society, in supporting a resolution, he said that we lived in a world which WAS UNDER THE CURSE OF THE ALMIGHTY for their apostacy. It is to me very grievous to see men of mark give forth such dreadful theology as being the teaching of the meek and merciful Jesus. To the Editor of the Liberator: And it is to the teaching of such theology that we DEAR FRIEND-I was glad to see in a late LIBERATOR, owe the general complaint which our Orthodox one protest against the Maine Law, the only one I redissenting teachers make, and truly make, that our operatives are falling away from them, and will the space, please permit me to add mine, not go to their chapels. It is true that they are are beginning to look upon them as adopting that find no better example to follow? cry merely to divert attention from themselves and that the great change of which they complain is those on whom we wish to operate, the alternative of applicable to their own practice, although they have been unconsciously moved from their former lature, for whatever innocent-looking and fine-sounding course; so far, that they have been obliged to meet object it may be, is published to the country with the a Mr. Holyoake in debate on the question of Atheism-a man who, ten years ago, the priests at Cheltenham caused to be indicted and imprisoned for six months in one of the severest jails in England. and subjected to much personal degradation and privation, for denying the existence of God. He came to thus treat even the most depraved and mean-spirited out of prison confirmed by persecution in the nega- of the makers and sellers of strong drink? Because hutions of Atheism, preached them, lectured upon man presumption is found willing to arm them with his them, and obtained so large a following that wher- death-dealing power, does it follow that their commis-

Brewin Grant was appointed to debate the question We have two securities for the limited duration with him, and so large was the gathering, that of God, the other from that of man.

It results from the infinite perfection of God that

the commencement of the debate, and hundreds different weeks, filled to overflowing an hour before ing baffled by either his depravity or his obstinacy.

The discussion was between two able men, and is

It results from man's preference of pleasure to very instructive, nearly as much so, I think, as the pain, and from the reason with which God has endowed him to distinguish the causes of these oppublished here, between Robert Dale Owen and nencing in this world, and extending indefinite- sion; it will speak for itself to those who feel what I think to be a higher and better knowl-But, will God receive him after such protracted edge; but, whether higher and better or not, things and principles do not change with mere

much, and has evidently seen much and thought Finally, what is to become of the past sins, much. He lamented its existence, and hoped it sposed of?

&c.; and then started Colonization and Liberia,
It might just as rationally be asked—What is and lent me two numbers of their journal. I read come of the hunger you felt before dinner, and returned them. I wrote him a note, saying all palliative of things as they are in the slave Take an illustration in answer to the above ques- States of America—they bore an excusatory tone, and amounted to this :- If we are black in Ameri-A year ago, your little girl told you a deliberate ca, society is dark brown in many other countries.

circumstances of great temptation, she re- out of the twenty-four letters! And when we reflect onger confidently taken, as before. She felt her- varying upon each-from the clod-hopper to the enceforth strictly adhered to the truth. Stilk, ery step in science is a further revelation from

have done. cause must precede the effect; love must precede Our great concern, then, is to practice truth and its manifestation. If the train had not been laid, C. K. W. it is owing that the world was prepared to receive her great and noble contribution to man's welfare. I trust the manner in which the world has received her and her work will encourage the great and good among women to advance the knowledge of truth and human duties, and especially of woman's rights; that they will fix in their minds. and seek to open out the conviction, that wherever a right is discovered, a duty is revealed: and that those duties which involve humanity and love are especially committed unto them; that if men are by our present arrangements, made the bread winners for the family, they are to that extent more especially bound to exert themselves in works of peace, love and charity, and that women are especially called upon to seek the repeal of all laws which exclude them from equal rights, and which shut them out from helping to carry out those purposes which God opens to the mental eve, and thus calls upon them to aid in doing.

Yours faithfully. EDWARD SEARCH.

THE MAINE-LAW MANIA. DERBY, (Eng.) May 9, 1853.

member to have seen in its columns. If you have a lit-

The alleged necessity for government interference i so, and because the people cannot, as they used to do, receive such doctrines merely on authority. not be reached by moral influences,—whose selfishness Men are beginning to reason, and ministers do not is so inveterate, that they will persist in assailing the as yet perceive that mere dicta are not sufficient weak with temptation, regardless of all considerations induce even a moderately-educated people to of humanity-people not fit to be left at liberty; and surrender their reason any longer to the guidance that, in self-defence, we are bound to interpose the auof priests. Many of these Orthodox teachers turn thority of law. This is the ready excuse of despots and round upon the Catholics, and are shouting Priest- popes, the world over-the justification they offer for craft ! Priestcraft ! as though the craft did not be- their enslavement of those who have the misfortune to long to them; and do not perceive that the people come beneath their power. Can temperance reformers

When we abandon moral sussion for the coercion of om their own crudities. They do not perceive government in accomplishing our ends, we present to pared to take life rather than that the law shall not accomplish that whereunto it is sent. Are temperance re-

sion from heaven is so indisputable that they may de to avail themselves of it? 'Ye know not what p of spirit ye are of; the Son of man came not to de men's lives, but to save them,' was the reproof who Christ administered to some impatient zealots, wh would have called fire down from heaven in furth of His cause.

If it even were made plain that these ments could serve the cause of temperance, we ought be well assured that the resources of gentlen been all exhausted in vain, before resor treme a measure as that of sacrificing a portion of i people for the good of the rest; for it amounts to the ien we abandon moral force for brute force in dealir when we assure of intoxicating drinks. Are they to also our brethren, and as much entitled to our he consideration as other transgressors of the moral The temperance reformation itself is only valuable a mbserving the great work of human education, the m lifting and the purifying of all who bear the original stamp of the divine image, however defaced. To the humanity of the above class, and to treat it with violence, is to sacrifice the end to the me instead of assuming their incurable depravity, as a jusin treating their case, it would be more to the credit of our candor and justice. When our own refor been sufficiently attended to, we may possibly find our selves possessed of an influence over the most depraced that shall altogether supersede any nece It was by the foolishness of preaching that the ten-

perance cause gained its first footing, and in spite of the most formidable obstacles. What but moral-form agency has brought strong drink into such disrepute a done under the most disadvantageous circum moral suasion, why should not the reformation be sition grow weaker in the ratio of its success, that recruits originally assailed the phalanx of iniquity a folly, without carnal weapons, and made it yield. Is to be credited that, when their numbers are increase a thousand-fold, and the enemy's position weakened every point, that the glory of triumph must be rese brute force ? 'I say unto you that ye resist not evil. was Christ's injunction, illustrated by His life and death. He preached none of this necessity for self-de fence. Those who have such a penchant for doming over a few distillers, brewers and publicans, will les vain for Christ's sanction. The wisdom of hi achings and practice is, of course, an open question Christians, have a right to set both aside, if they good cause. But I appeal to that sense of right in planted in every breast, Can we, in place of brother persuasion and enlightenment, assume that of master ship, and still do as we would be done by? Which of th wo influences is it, to which we are ourselves indebte for whatever of good we have attained to? Has it ben that which denies our capacity for appreciating mor appeals, and treated us accordingly, or that other bolish Tectotallers! who hath bewitched you that ro can so easily turn aside to those beggarly elements?

These Maine-Law advocates constantly assume the overnments are in the habit of enacting and executing aws for the punishment and suppression of crime and that such laws are indispen being of society; and on this baseless assumption to argue the fitness of a law to put down the sale of street frink, the prolific parent of the crime new dealt with lenge them to point to any government under her that makes and executes laws for the suppression crime. The English and the United States are perly the best specimens, yet the darkest crimes of which h man depravity is capable, are either del supported by these governments. They make laws he monopoly of crime, not for its suppression. struggle to its triumph in spite of govern

As to this plausible ever-recurring plea of protest the young, the weak and the inexperienced from the for dable temptations of public houses, by their coer of this sort of protection, the people are the most helpe Where they are in the habit of relying on function ism, legal or ecclesiastical, for the promotion and gu ship of their morality, there we have the least ty. The motives to self-helpfulness are weakened an perseded by government management, and the most this management, the more it is needed, if incapac coping with temptation is a proof of such need. pretence of taking care of the people, their salss is devoured by swarms of vampyre officials, and all get in return is helplessness, decrepitude of boys mind, till outraged nature is compelled to avenge self by the reaction of revolution where vitality et remains, and where not, there she rids herself of nuisance by death. Let the selfish ply their crue Here, as elsewhere, let the trade be free, without restriction of tax, or license, even. Let them do th worst to entrap their victims. As truth never shi from a fair encounter, so neither does virtue. That et is virtue which can withstand temptation. Away si your 'spurious protection' and 'nexious char Where's the value of the temperance m to culminate in making slaves instead of men! Maine Law is the befitting enactment of a State, in paternal Union that chattelizes more than three lions of human beings. Let the number ten reps that class to which moral considerations are now sufficient for the well-ordering of all their conduct, nine indicate the class next below in moral suscepti ty, and so back to one, which shall stand for the debased. What but moral influence has raised tea the condition of nine, and elevated nine from the of eight, and so down to the lowest? The time once when the most elevated were not higher than " are now our lowest class; and other still lower form debasement have become extinct; known only to science of moral geology. What has fostered, say ed, propelled this continual growth? cultivation of ercion? moral force or brute force? What has been one grand obstruction? The spirit of Mastership ing under the names of government and law. was crucified according to law, and 'the glorious of martys' have been, and to this hour are, America and England, crucified by government the name of law. In the fact that, from raw mate like our present lowest class, have been man by moral machinery alone, our divinest humanity, we have the assurance of its perfect tion to the condition of all, and of its glorio While reformers are hankering after and higgin

carnal weapons, invoking this club and tomals they shall reap as they sow, misery and disapp from injustice and folly. Were the time, energy, now spent on the infamous quackery of s ment meddlement, husbanded and conce heaven-authorized treatment of gent how soon might the desert bloom, and the earth be

Yours, very truly, GEORGE SUNTER,

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